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LUTHERAN MONOGRAPHS.

A CHRONICLE

OF THE

AUGSBURG CONFESSION:

BY

CHARLES P. KRAUTH, D. D., L.L.D.

A QUESTION OF LATINITY.

BY

HENRY E. JACOBS, D.D.

PHILADELPHIA:
J. FRED'K SMITH, PUBLISHER,
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J. FREDERICK SMITH, Publisher.

August, 1878.

A CHRONICLE OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

I. INTRODUCTORY.

THIS Chronicle of the Augsburg Confession in its rise, progress and completion, is designed to be supplementary, in some sense, to the "Conservative Reformation," and to the Essays and Debates of the "First Free Lutheran Diet in America, Philadelphia, December 27, 28, 1877." It proposes to bring together more completely than has hitherto been attempted, in English at least, those documentary annals, which shed light upon some of the unsettled questions in regard to our great Confession—the "apple of our Church's eye." This monograph is a vindication in the form of a Chronicle: and as the greatest confusion has arisen, and has been perpetuated, in some cases even for ages, by lack of observance of the chronology of the events involved, this Chronicle is made rigidly chronological. Chronology and geography have been called the eyes of history, yet the handling of history seems often to begin with putting out her eyes. But history without her eyes, is mere romance, at best, and at the worst, is misleading falsehood.

Fidelity in seemingly little things is important. This is especially true in history, and most of all in the history of the Church. God is in history. It forms, with Nature and the Word, the great Trilogy of His Revelation. The three are to be interpreted in the same general spirit. We are to bring to them a close and reverent observation of God's teaching, even to its minutest parts; a sanctified and cautious use of reason. We are to avoid credulity, but no less rationalism, in construing evidence. Credulity dispenses with reason; rationalism abuses it. The wideness of history tempts error to put forth strong efforts to corrupt it. If history be abandoned to Rationalism, the Word itself will be in serious danger. The defence of the citadel begins at the outposts.

II. THE QUESTION: ITS SMALLNESS AND GREATNESS.

If the questions to which we devote this discussion were simply and solely questions of chronology, involving minute points of his-

tory, only as they interest the exact scholar, they would be, indeed, relatively small. Yet even in that case they would not be unimportant, for whatever is associated with love of truth for truth's own sake, and with accuracy in little matters, as tributary to truth, is great in principle, though the instance may seem trivial. But the Confession of a great Church, such a confession as is the Augsburg Confession, of such a Church as is the Lutheran, gives importance to any question in which it is involved. Not, however, merely for the historic importance of their association, but because of their doctrinal and practical bearings, should the questions be thoroughly discussed and determined which the enemies of our Church have raised in their assaults on our palladium.

III. ASSAULTS ON THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION AND PERVERSIONS OF IT.

These assaults have come from eight sources: Romanism, the Calvinistic-Reformed Church, Fanaticism, Separatism, Sectarianism, Rationalism, Unionism, and aimless ignorant vanity. These assaults, though seemingly in various and conflicting interests, have been very much alike. They have been brought into unity by the common desire of the parties to weaken the Confession so as to fit it to their ends, or failing in this to put it out of the way. In 1579 appeared the letter of the Belgian ministers, the assault of Herdesian [under the pseudonym of Ambrose Wolf], and of Sturm; in 1581, and later, of Danaeus and Ursinus (the Neustadt Admonition, 1581; the defence of it, 1586); in 1599 the Stafford Book; in 1607 Hospinian's Concordia Discors, and a host of similar works.

Zacharias Ursinus in the Neustadt Admonition, of the Book of Concord,[1] puts in shape all the objections of the Reformed to the Augsburg Confession: "No particular Church has the right to impose a formula on other particular Churches; it was written too soon after the break with Rome: but a few theologians were concerned in it; it was made in haste and great agitation; it was presented in trembling, and after being shaped with all timidity by men who felt that their heads were not safe on their shoulders; the editions differ; there are things in the Confession which even its friends cannot defend; Transubstantiation for example, the Mass, Absolu-

[1] De Libro Concordiæ. Admonitio. Neustadt, 4to. 1581, 4 to 143. Also in Ursini Opera, II., 486-694.

tion as a Sacrament, and prayers for the dead." In a word, in reading Ursinus's attacks on the Confession, we might imagine we were reading a defence of it by a certain class of nominal Lutherans. Ursinus quotes from Melanchthon's words of 1560[2] omitting what does not suit him.

The effort has been made to prove that Melanchthon was the sole author of the Confession, to the exclusion of Luther and others, as by Chamier, Pareus, Rückert, Heppe:

That Luther was purposely kept, by some of the princes, nominally Evangelical, from participating in it. This theory was put forth by Sturm (1579), repeated by Raemund, (1605) and has been brought into recent notice by Rückert and Heppe, and eagerly caught at by Rationalists and Unionists:

That Melanchthon had the right to alter the Confession at his pleasure:

That Melanchthon's writings are beyond Luther's, the best source of interpretation for the Confession:

That a sense derived from Melanchthon's latest writings or put upon them is the real sense of the Confession, and that the Reformed are truly in its fellowship, and Heppe goes so far as to maintain that thorough Lutherans are not in its fellowship—that the Augsburg Confession does not set forth Lutheranism but Melanchthonianism.

These positions, extravagant as they are, have nevertheless a power for mischief. Unscrupulous ingenuity can bewilder the unsuspecting and embarrass even the thoughtful. A falsehood very little in bulk may undermine a great principle, and on the other hand the establishment of facts which on the surface do not seem very important may lend effectual aid to truth. The wise old fable reminds us that a mouse may gnaw the meshes of the net which holds the lion.

In this essay we aim at correcting some of the mistakes and misrepresentations which obscure the history and glory of our Confession. We present the Annals themselves, carefully arranged, as the best witnesses in the case, and have attempted, for ourselves, little more than directing the attention of the reader to the real meaning and force of the testimony.

[2] P. 143-145.

IV. CHRONOLOGY OF THE PRELIMINARIES TO THE PREPARATION OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION. OCTOBER 1, 1529—MARCH 31, 1530.

1529. **October 1–3.**—The Marburg Colloquy between Luther and Œcolampadius; and Melanchthon and Zwingli.

October 4.—Luther draws up the Fifteen Articles, fourteen of nominal agreement, and one of difference between the Lutherans and Zwinglians.

October 16.—The "Articles of the Elector of Saxony, touching the faith," prepared by Luther at the Elector's request, and laid before the Assembly of the States at *Schwabach*.

1530. **January 6.**—Convention of the Protestants at Nürnberg.

January 12.—Melanchthon's Letter to Œcolampadius in regard to the Lord's Supper, demonstrating Melanchthon's complete accord with Luther.

January 21.—The Emperor sends letters from Bologne to the Orders of Germany, summoning a Diet for April 8.[1]

February 24.—Melanchthon's "Testimonies of the ancient writers in regard to the Holy Supper" is published, showing his thorough harmony with the Lutheran doctrine.

March 6.—Melanchthon expresses his disapproval of the Zwinglian doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

March 14.—Duke John, Elector of Saxony, by advice of his Chancellor, Bruck, gives the command: 1. That the Wittenberg theologians, Luther, Jonas, Pomeranus, and Melanchthon, shall draw up in writing the heads of the doctrines and of the Church-usages in controversy, for the Diet. 2. That they shall bring the writing to Torgau by March 20th, and shall get ready for the journey.[2]

March 14–20.—1. The official opinion of the Wittenberg theologians, who were summoned to Torgau in regard to the controverted articles, is in preparation.[3]

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[1] Müller: Historie, III. ch. iii. Walch, XVI. 747, No. 890. Förstemann, I. No. 1.

[2] Förstemann, I. Nos. 11, 12. Müller, 438. Luther's Werke: Leipzig, XX. 171. Walch, XVI. 763, No. 897. Corp. Ref., II. No. 671.

[3] Luther's Letter of March 14. Briefe: de Wette, III. 564.

ii. Melanchthon's official opinion on the abuses of the Romish Church.[4]

March 15.—Melanchthon writes to Aquila reflecting severely on Carlstadt and the Zwinglian cities.

March 21.—i. The Elector summons Luther, Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, and Jonas to Torgau.[5]

ii. About this date Jonas writes on reforming the Church.

March 26.—The articles "not to be yielded" are determined on.

March 27.—Melanchthon at Torgau.

V. CHRONOLOGY OF THE FORMATION OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION, FROM ITS INCEPTION, TO THE STAGE AT WHICH MELANCHTHON EXPRESSES THE DESIRE TO BRING IT TO LUTHER, APRIL 3, 1530—MAY 4, 1530.

1530. April 2.—i. Luther writes to Hausmann, pastor at Zwickau: "I am going with the Prince (the Elector John) as far as Coburg, and Philip and Jonas with us, until it shall become known what will be attempted at Augsburg. Let your church pray earnestly for the Diet."[1] The doubt as to what will be attempted at Augsburg, seems to imply that Luther considered it far from certain that the religious questions would really be thoroughly taken up at the Diet, as the letter following shows:

ii. Luther writes to Conrad Cordatus:[2] "As to your wish, of which I hear, to hasten to the Diet, I would entirely dissuade you from it. *First*, Because I am not called thither, but for certain reasons, go with the Prince only on the journey through his own dominion. *Secondly*, The cause of the Gospel will hardly be treated of at all, or at least very slowly, as the Princes are not in such haste in a matter of Religion, but will give precedence to the Turkish Question. At a fitting time you can hurry thither." This letter implies that one motive which impelled Cordatus to hurry to Augsburg, was the expectation of meeting Luther there. The words

[4] Förstemann: Urkundenbuch, Nos. 27, 28.

[5] Förstemann, I. No. 29. Corp. Ref., II. No. 675.

[1] Coelestinus, I. 29. Buddeus, 83, No. 109. Walch, XVI. 792, No. 913. Briefe: de Wette, III. 566, No. 1195. Köllner, 169, 172, 2, 3.

[2] Coelestin., I. 29. Buddeus, 84, No. 110. Walch, XVI. 792, No. 914. Strobel: Miscellan., III. 84 De Wette, III. 567, No. 1196.

"through his own dominion," show that the danger to be incurred at Augsburg was one from which the Elector could only shield him in his own dominion—the danger connected with the ban of the Empire and the excommunication of the Papal Church. Luther also considered it doubtful whether the questions in which he could take part would come up a tall, and considers it certain that in any case they will be taken up last. The two letters of this date show that in a certain state of things the ban might be withdrawn and he might yet go to Augsburg. Luther alludes to the "certain reasons," without specifying them, probably because he felt that it was unnecessary to enter into them. They would suggest themselves.

April 3.—i. The Elector leaving Torgau, begins the journey to Augsburg, taking his theologians with him. They reach Coburg.

ii. Melanchthon begins to write the heads of doctrine to be presented at the Diet.

April 8.—The day originally fixed for the opening of the Diet of Augsburg.

April, about the middle.—The first sketch preliminary to the Augsburg Confession written by Melanchthon at Coburg.

This sketch Bretschneider[3] attempts to identify with the Document first published by Förstemann.[4] Förstemann believes the Document to have been written by the Wittenberg theologians March 14–20. Bretschneider's view is approved by Carl Schmid.[5]

April 16.—The Council of Nürnberg writes to the Elector of Saxony in terms which imply their expectation that he will bring Luther with him to Augsburg.[6]

April 17–25.—If Melanchthon had foreseen all the future he could hardly have been more intensely active. While he was yet in Coburg (**April 17–25**) he was laboring on the "Exordium" of the Confession.[7]

It is beyond all dispute that the document which grew into the Augsburg Confession was originally designed to be presented in the name of Saxony alone.[8]

[3] Corp. Reformator., IV. 985.

[4] Urkundenbuch, I. 68–84.

[4] Melanchthon, 197.

[5] Förstemann: Urkundenb., I. 140. Köllner, 172–3.

[6] Köllner, 170, 173 (8). Corp. Reformat., II. No. 679. Chytraeus. Histor., Lat., 25–27. Germ., 27. French, 25. Coelestinus, 40. b.

[8] Köllner, 169–173 (7).

It was in this case, as it so often is, indeed nearly always is, in human life. Time is the guide of men, and the execution far transcends the draft.

April 18.—Luther writes from Coburg, to Nicolas Hausmann: "You will let Cordatus know that we are still here, not knowing when we shall travel further. For yesterday came a messenger and a letter, from which we learn that the Emperor remains at Mantua, and is to celebrate Easter there. It is said besides that the Papists spare no labor to prevent the Diet from going on, as they fear that something adverse to them may be determined on. It is reported further that the Pope is angry with the Emperor for mixing himself up in Church matters, and giving a hearing to the parties, when the Pope was hoping that he would be a mere lictor to execute sentence on the heretics and to restore everything. For they are willing to change or lose nothing; they are not willing to have their cause judged or investigated: they would simply have us condemned and ruined, and have themselves restored to everything. Some even think that the Diet will be entirely revoked and that nothing will come of it. I am commanded by the Prince, I know not for what reason, to remain at Coburg when the others depart."[9] The reason probably was that the Elector had grounds for the anticipation, which was destined to be verified, that the City of Augsburg would not grant Luther a safe-conduct.

April 21 or 22.—The Elector, with Melanchthon, Jonas, Spalatin and Agricola, leaves Coburg. Luther does not accompany them.

April 22. 1. Luther, after the departure of the Elector, goes to the Citadel of Coburg. Vitus Theodorus (Veit Dietrich) of Nürnberg is his companion.

2. Luther writes to Melanchthon, "his most dear brother, faithful and prudent servant and disciple of Christ:" "The place is most pleasant and adapted for study, except that your absence saddens it."[10]

April 23.—Luther writes to Wenceslaus Link, at Nürnberg: "We sit idle here at Coburg, uncertain in regard to the Diet and the

[9] Coelestin. i. 29. Buddeus, 84. Walch, xvi. 794. De Wette, iv. 1. No. 1199. Köllner, 172–3.

[10] Coelestin. i. 39. Buddeus, 85. Walch, xvi. 2827. De Wette iv. 2. No. 1200.

coming of the Emperor; you perhaps have more certain information. Though the others, my intimates, have gone to Augsburg, the Prince wishes me to remain here. You will see them—Philip, Jonas, Eisleben, Spalatin. If the Diet should go on, you will get all the particulars from them."[11] This letter notes doubt as to the carrying out of the Diet; yearning for his "sodales," his bosom companions.

April 24.—Luther writes to Eobanus Hess, at Nürnberg: "To his most dear brother, most illustrious Poet of Germany:" "I send to you at one time, four Letters, living and speaking, nay, most eloquent letters, Justus, Philip, Spalatin and Agricola. I would willingly be the fifth, but there was, who said to me, 'Keep quiet, you have a bad voice.'" The whole tone of the letter is playful.[12]

April 28.—The Elector and theologians leave Nürnberg for Augsburg.

April 29.—Luther writes to Melanchthon: "There is no news here, except that we wonder that no letters have to this time come from you. I wrote the day we were separated. My 'Exhortation to the Clergy' grows under my hand."[13]

April 30—May 12.—The Exhortation of Luther to the Clergy assembled at the Diet of Augsburg is finished, and sent to Wittenberg to be printed.[14]

April 30.—The city of Augsburg furnishes a letter of safe-conduct to the Elector John of Saxony; in this, after guaranteeing safety to him and to those who should accompany him, the safe-conduct goes on to say: "But we make an exception, if His Electoral Grace should have with him and bring hither any one who has broken the peace of His Imperial Majesty and of the Holy Empire, and become liable to penalty and punishment; to such an one we have no power to grant a safe-conduct."[15]

Förstemann remarks on this: "It is beyond doubt that Luther

[11] Coelestin., i. 30. Buddeus, 86. Walch, xvi. 796. De Wette, iv. 5. No 1202.

[12] Briefe: De Wette, iv. 6, No. 1203.

[13] Buddeus, 88. Walch, xvi. 2828. De Wette, iv. 10, No. 1207.

[14] Luther's Werke: Jena, v. 114. Altenb., v. 201. Leipz., xx. 146. Walch, xvi. 1120. Erlangen, xxiv. 329. Chytraeus, 189 [323]. Coelestin., ii. 253.

[15] Müller, 454. Walch, xvi. 786, No. 907. Förstemann, i. 160, 161, No. 61. Köllner, 172, 3.

is mainly referred to in this proviso of the city of Augsburg (which might indeed have been anticipated long before), and it is probable that it was the special occasion of Luther's being left at Coburg." The *anticipation* of it may have led to Luther being left behind, April 22, and it certainly settled the question as to Luther's coming to Augsburg at a later period.

May 1.—Melanchthon at Donauwerth.

May 2.—The Elector with his theologians and suite enters Augsburg. Spalatin makes the date May 1,[16] which was Misericordias Sunday, but May 2 is the recognized date.[17]

The Elector's suite contained three princes (Fürsten), who in the distinctive sense of the word Princes, as correspondent with Fürsten, were the only Protestant Princes with the Elector, up to May 11. The first of these three was John Frederick, son of the Elector, and a titulary, not a reigning prince. The second was Francis of Lüneberg, also a titulary prince only. The third was Wolffgang, of Anhalt, who had not received a summons to the Diet from the Emperor. Both Francis and Wolffgang came in the character of persons in the service (Diener) of the Elector.[18] There were beside "Counts, Barons, and other nobles"[19] not counted as "Princes," and taking no part in the Confession or the Diet.

Melanchthon began his work at Augsburg under the direction of the Elector alone. He laid under this direction the XVII Schwabach-Torgau Articles of Luther, as the basis of the doctrinal part of the Confession, and the Wittenberg sketches as the basis of the Articles on abuses. There had probably been an understanding at Torgau among the theologians as to the general features of the document which was to be prepared for presentation by the Elector to the Emperor.[20]

May 4.—1. On *May 4th* Melanchthon wrote to Luther: "*Beside our Prince no other prince* is present. I have made the exordium of the Apology somewhat more finished in style than as I wrote it at

[16] Annales, 131.

[17] Ain Kurtze Anzayg. in Cyprian's Beylagen, vi. 78. Coelestinus, 31. Müller, 465.

[18] Müller, 456, 87.

[19] C. P. Krauth: "Relation of Our Confessions." *Evang. Rev.*, Oct., 1849, p. 249.

[20] Köllner, 170, 173, 10.

Coburg. In a short time I will bring it; or, if the Prince will not permit me to do that, I will send it."[21]

In this letter it is worthy of note that, although the suite of the Elector embraced his son and two other Princes, Melanchthon speaks of the Elector as the only Prince present.

But there is another point which demands an attention which has not been given it. The "exordium" has been considered as the "preface," the "proem,"[22] "prelude." Melanchthon was hardly likely to call a "præfatio," or preface proper, an exordium. The preface of the Augsburg Confession was not written until after the Confession was finished, and is the work of Pontanus. May not the "Exordium" of the Apology be the summary of doctrine based on the XVII Schwabach-Torgau Articles? Melanchthon, in the days at Coburg, had made his first draught of the elaborated statement. At Augsburg he had given his draught more finish of style, as he writes May 4. That Melanchthon should have proposed to travel from Augsburg to Coburg and back, to consult Luther in person about the style of a mere preface is absurd. But the true view of the "Exordium" makes the whole matter perfectly clear.[23] This letter also shows that at this time the whole matter lay between Melanchthon and the Elector.

ii. On the same day Melanchthon wrote to Vitus Theodorus, who was with Luther at Coburg: "The Emperor is expected in a short time. . . . . I beg you to write to me daily, and in a short time I will run over to you, that I may bring to the Doctor (Luther), in order that he may revise it, the *Apology* which is to be presented to the Emperor."[24]

This shows that the document was ready which Melanchthon expected to have delivered to the Emperor, and that none but the Elector, Luther, and himself had the matter at this time in their

[21] Praeter nostrum nullus alius princeps adest. Ego exordium nostræ Apologiæ feci aliquanto *ῥητορικώτερον*, quam *Coburgæ* scripseram. Brevi autem ipse afferam aut, si id non permittet princeps, mittam. Corp. Ref. II. No. 679. Chytraeus: Lat., 26, 27. Coelestinus, 39, b, 40.

[22] Chytraeus: Lat., proemium. Ger., Vorrede: Fr., preambule, preface.

[23] Chytraeus: Ut autem articulos confessionis, ita *proemium* etiam confessioni praeponendum, quod Coburgae Philippus composuerat, Augustæ retexuit." He then cites the letter of May 4th in evidence.

[24] Corp. Reform., II. No. 680.

hands. It shows, too, that the exordium was written after the "Apology." The Apology was the defensive portion, to which the doctrinal articles in their then relatively limited form were to constitute the exordium.

Both parts were in their earliest stage. In its earlier period the character of the Augustana as a Confession was entirely subordinate to its character as an apology. Even as it stands now, the Confessional part is in bulk little more than an exordium to the apologetic part, which begins in some sense with Article XVIII., and is marked in the words: "Ours are FALSELY ACCUSED," Article XX.; and which, from the Apology of doctrines assailed, passes in the articles on abuses, to the points in which the Confessors desired to make their Apology a defence of their correction of abuses. The part strictly Confessional is about in the ratio of six to twenty-six to the strictly apologetic part. It still retains in some degree its original character. It is a Confessional Exordium to an Apologetic document, yet with such a comprehensive summary of doctrine that, despite its brevity, it stamps the whole document precisely with the characteristics marked by Melanchthon, when calling it (May 11) an apology, he adds: "though it may more truly be called a Confession."

iii. On the same day Melanchthon writes to Catherine, wife of Luther: "We left the Doctor at Coburg, but I hope to see him before long."[25] Melanchthon was full of desire to confer with Luther in person. And the document he designed to submit to him was the document which he expected to have laid before the Emperor.

VI. CHRONOLOGY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION, FROM THE ELABORATION OF ITS EXORDIUM TO THE REDUCTION OF IT TO THE "FORM" SENT TO LUTHER AND APPROVED BY HIM, MAY 5—MAY 15.

May 5.—i. Melanchthon writes to Camerarius at Nürnberg: "If you have anything to say to Luther, or to send to him, give it to this messenger who carries this letter." There are many proofs that Nürnberg was made a connecting link in the correspondence between Augsburg and Coburg.

[25] Corp. Ref., II. No. 681.

ii. In the same letter Melanchthon speaks severely of Bucer and the intriguing tendency he represented, and his lack of the true doctrine of justification by faith."[1]

iii. May 5, Melanchthon wrote to Frederick, Abbot at Nürnberg: "The Emperor is at Innspruck, and hence, they think, that in a short time he will come hither. There is no other Prince here except ours."[2]

May 8.—i. John Dolzius, one of the Electoral Counsellors, who had been sent to the Emperor by the Elector, writes to him from Oenipont, May 8, a letter which throughout implies that at that time the Elector stood alone in the preparation to present the Augustana.[3]

ii. Luther writes to Wencislaus Link, at Nürnberg, where he was the first Evangelical Lutheran Preacher, regularly called: "I do not deny that I should gladly have seen you" (by coming to Nürnberg, with the others), "but what pleases God, pleases me also; nor am I ignorant that on this journey I am entirely useless, and perhaps would have done more good by staying at home and teaching, but it was not lawful for me to resist him who called me."[4]

May 9.—Luther writes to Spalatin his sketch for the Diet of the Daws, in its parallels and contrasts with the forthcoming Diet at Augsburg—one of the finest pieces of refined and sustained humor in the history of literature.[5]

May 11.—On May 11th, Melanchthon wrote to Luther "his most dear father": "There is sent to you our Apology, though it is more truly a Confession. For the Emperor has not leisure to listen to extended discussions. I have nevertheless said those things which I judged to be most profitable or becoming. With this design I have embraced nearly all the Articles of faith, for Eck has put forth the most diabolical slanders against us. I wished to oppose a remedy to them. . . . You will judge of the whole writing

[1] Corp. Ref., II. 42, No. 682.

[2] Corp. Ref., II. No. 683.

[3] Corp. Ref. II. 684. Seckendorf: Hist. Lutheran., II. 156.

[4] Coelestin. I. 37. Buddeus, 89. Walch, XVI. 2829. De Wette, IV. 11, No. 1209.

[5] Coelestinus, I. 38. Buddeus, 90. Chytraeus, Germ. 77. Walch, XVI. 2128. De Wette, IV. 12, No. 1210.

in accordance with your spirit. . . . We do not think that the Emperor will reach Augsburg under fourteen days."[6]

There are several things worthy of note in Melanchthon's letter to Luther:

1. It implies an important change in the Augustana. May 4, to Luther, he calls it without reservation an Apology; the same day, he gives it the same name to Vitus. Up to May 11, there is no historic evidence that the name Confession, had ever been applied to it. Melanchthon now calls it indeed "Our Apology," but intimates that it is "more truly a Confession." What follows implies a condensation of the matter. It implies that this condensed matter had taken the place of the "prolix disputations," which had been prepared, some of them very extended, by the Wittenberg theologians, on the points *in dispute* between the Romanists and Lutherans. This part of the matter forming the Apology in the distinctive sense, Melanchthon had been contracting, ridding of superfluities and simplifying. The undisputed articles of faith would require only a simple statement. Prolix disputation would be possible only in the Apologetic part. This part has been thrown, relatively to its old preponderance, into the back-ground. The Augustana is not to be so exclusively as in its inception, an Apology. But the other element, too much subordinated, is now brought into relief, so that the document has become "more truly a Confession." Melanchthon distinctly states by what process. In deciding what is most profitable and fitting, he has "brought together about all the articles of faith." He has enlarged the number of topics treated of in Luther's XVII articles, and to the diabolical slanders of Eck, who charged the Lutherans with departing from all the articles of faith, he puts forth the remedy, in the form of an assertion of these articles. This ampler treatment of the faith, makes a change of vast significance: that which had been in an important sense a Confession but more truly an Apology, now remains in an important sense an Apology, but is more truly a Confession. This view is confirmed by the force which we have tried to show best fits the word "Exordium," in the letter of May 4

2. The same day, Melanchthon writes to Vitus Theodorus, who

[6] Corp. Ref., I. No. 685. Chytraeus, Lat., 31. Germ., 29. French, 28. Coelestinus, i. 41. Walch, XVI. No. 904. For the "pro tuo spiritu," see Madvig's Latin Grammar, sec. 446.

was with Luther: "The Landgrave (Philip of Hesse), it is said, will be here to-day or to-morrow. We are no less monks than you are in that castle of yours; For we see nothing here, we hear nothing, which indeed is a pleasure to us."[7] (Implying that it is better to hear nothing, than to hear the disagreeable things they were likely to hear—the *molesta* of the sentence which follows).

3. On the same day, May 11, the Elector John wrote to Luther:[8] "After that you and our other learned men at Wittenberg, on our gracious request and desire, had brought into a draught (Lat. had sketched in a brief writing) the Articles of (our) Religion, which are in dispute (are controverted): We would not conceal from you, that now, in this place (Augsburg), Philip Melanchthon, *Magister*, has further (again) revised the same, and has drawn them into a form, which we hereby (with this) send to you. And it is our gracious desire that you would not deem it a burden further to revise and ponder the same (the Articles). And whether it please you to such a degree (Lat.: Fr.: And whether they please you as they are written) or you think proper to take away from it, or add to it, you will at the same time note it in writing, so that we may then be furnished and prepared for the arrival of His Imperial Majesty, which we shortly expect, and then send us again hither the Articles immediately, by this messenger, well-secured and sealed."

From this letter it is evident that the whole matter at this date was in the hands of the Elector of Saxony. He was acting in entire independence of all the other estates. The Confession was solely in the name of Saxony. It implies that so far the work upon it at Augsburg had been confined to Melanchthon, and that when Luther gave the stamp of his approval, everything was ready for the presentation to the Emperor. Köllner: "Manifestly Saxony was still acting in entire independence. Up to this time the Confession was prepared in the name of the elector alone."[9] The

[7] Corp. Ref. II. No. 686.

[8] Corp. Reformator., II. No. 687. Luther: Werke: Jena, 1566, V. 21b. Leipzig, XX. 173. Walch, XVI. 785. Chytraeus: Germ., 28. Lat., 30. French, 28. Coelestinus, 40. b. Gröndliche Historia: Germ., 110. Lat., 136. Müller, 519. Cyprian. Beylagen, XIII. 168. Förstemann, I. 190, No. 74. Köllner, 173, 13. Calanich., 11.

[9] 171.

power of Luther over the document is made unlimited and final. He can add, cut off, or change. Do what he will, it is "*then*" ready for the Emperor. No trace is here of any participation at Augsburg of the theologians, who came with the elector. The three Princes (John, Philip Melanchthon and Luther), determine it among themselves. No prince of a lower order, or official (of the cities) had yet taken part. At least more than a half of the ultimate signers were yet absent—if we throw out John Frederick and Francis, only two out of nine were there. The parties were not there; those that were there were not yet involved in any plan which could lead to conjoint discussion. It is not an overstatement to say that to refer Melanchthon's description in 1560 to the period before May 11 is simply impossible on the part of any one who has used the means of verifying the genuine chronology and succession of events.

May 12.—1. Luther writes to Melanchthon: "I should very willingly have written to the younger Prince" (John Frederic of Saxony) "as you wish in regard to the Macedonian" (Philip of Hesse).

2. Luther's impression of the excessive labor through which he believes Melanchthon is passing is expressed in the same letter: "I command you, and I charge all our nearest friends, that under an anathema they compel you to observe the rules of bodily health, lest you become a self-murderer, under pretence that you are obeying the will of God. For God is also served by rest—nay, in nothing is He more served than by rest; therefore, would He have the Sabbath observed so rigidly before other things. See that you do not esteem (it) lightly. It is God's Word I am writing."[10]

3. Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, entered Augsburg. His name is fourth among the signers of the Confession.[11]

May 15.—1. Luther sends back "Philip's Apology" with his cordial and unreserved approval—nothing added; nothing taken away; nothing changed; nothing suggested.[12]

[10] Coelestin. I. 41, 6. Buddeus, 92. Walch, XVI. 28, 31. De Wette, IV. 14. No 1211.

[11] Köllner, 173, 12.

[12] Luther: Werke: Jena, V. 22. Leipz., XX. 143. Walch, XVI. 785, No. 906. Erlangen, 54, 145, No. 316. Chytraeus: Germ., 30, Lat., 32. French, 29. Coelestinus, 42 b. Gründlich. Histor., 110: Lat., 137. Cyprian: Beylage, 170, XV. Buddeus, 93, No. 119. De Wette, IV. 17, No. 1213. Conservative Reformat., 223–227.

2. The Nürnberg Legates arrive.[13] They bring a Confession written by the preachers of Nürnberg. Melanchthon is pleased with it.

VII. THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION FROM MAY 16 TO THE SECOND SENDING OF IT TO LUTHER, MAY 22.

May 16.—The Elector indicated to the Legates of Nürnberg that the Confession was ready, though not entirely closed, as it had been sent to Luther for examination.

May 17.—1. Kress and Volkamer, Legates from Nürnberg, write to the Senate of their city that they had begun their duties (yesterday, May 16) by making inquiry into the movements of the Elector of Saxony in the "matter of the faith." Kress learned from the Chancellor that the *Elector*, "though he had been *first of all* ready with *his* Counsel concerning this Article" (of the faith), "and that consequently the same (Counsel) had been put into writing in German and Latin, yet that it had not yet been finally closed, and had been sent to Doctor Luther to examine, and that it was expected that it would be back from him to-morrow or the day after (May 17 or 18), and he (the Chancellor) did not doubt that when the aforesaid proposition (the Counsel) came, a copy of it would be given to us if we requested it."[1]

2. Later in the day Kress and Volkamer write again, stating that after finishing the previous letter, the Chancellor of the Elector had sent for them and informed them that "His Electoral Grace would abide by the answer of the Chancellor of the previous evening, to wit: that as soon as the Counsel (Rathschlag) came back from Luther it should be furnished to us." In the same letter they mention that at the mandate of the Elector they then entered in the Counsel of the Nürnberg preachers.[2]

May 20.—1. Luther writes (according to the received date) to Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, urging him not to take part with the

[13] Strobel Miscellan., II. 22.

[1] Corp. Ref., II. No. 690.

[2] Do., II. 691. Fikenscher, 52. Köllner, 175, 25.

Zwinglians.[3] See June 20, which is almost beyond doubt the correct date, and June 13.

2. The Nürnberg Legates write to the Senate: "The Counsel of the Nürnberg preachers (handed in May 17), which we presented a few days ago to the Chancellor of the Elector, Philip Melanchthon has examined, who after so doing said that it was not adverse to theirs, but almost the same in meaning, but that their Counsel was yet milder than that of your preachers."[4]

3. Luther writes to the Elector John in reply to the first letter written to him by the Elector from Augsburg. Both letters imply the completest affection, respect, and good understanding of both to each other.[5]

May 21. 1.—The Nürnberg Legates write: "No city of the Confederation is here, except one legate from Reutlingen, who has notified us of his presence, and gives us to understand that the authorities who sent him will adhere, as of fore time, to the Elector of Saxony, and to your Excellencies in the matter of the faith."[6]

2. Melanchthon writes to Camerarius at Nürnberg: "I have prepared an Apology, written with the greatest modesty, nor do I think it possible to speak of these things more mildly.[7]

3. Urban Rhegius, Evangelical Pastor at Augsburg, writes to Luther: "Daily, when my occupations permit, I have talks with those you love so dearly, Philip, Jonas, Isleben (Agricola), Spalatin. Nor have I now any other relief of my studies, than those very learned conversations with these men. If you were present with them, my joy would be full. Christ grant that I may very soon see you."

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[3] Luther's Werke: Jena, v. 22b—23b. Leipzig, xx. 180. Walch, xvii. 2379, No. xxxv. Erlangen, 54, 151, No. 318. Buddeus, 99–103, No. 122. Lat. (gives the date May 22). De Wette, iv. 23, No. 1216. Chytraeus dates it May 30, and says it was written in consequence of Melanchthon's request in the letter of May 22, q. v. Germ., 31b–33b. Coelestinus, 44–46, dates it May 22. Müller, 576–579.

[4] Corp. Ref., ii. 56, No. 693. Camerarius (Vita Melanch. ed Strobel), 121. Strobel, Miscellan., ii. 25. Fikenscher, 53. Köllner, 175, 26.

[5] Luther's Werke: Altenb., v. 23. Leipzig, xx. 172. Walch, xvi. 819. Briefe: De Wette, iv. 20. Erlangen, 54, No. 317. Chytraeus, 26b. Coelestinus, i. 47. Buddeus, 95.

[6] Corp. Reformat. ii. 56, No. 694. [7] Corp. Reformat. 57, No. 695.

"The Prince of Hesse lately invited me to breakfast with him. I have conceived hope concerning Hesse that he will not reject the sound counsels of Philip and of others."[8]

This letter shows that up to May 21, the intercourse of Rhegius with the Saxon theologians (he does not mention the others at all) was purely personal. But in the after elaboration of the Confession "Melanchthon took into his counsels the other theologians, besides Brenz," (and May 27) "especially Rhegius, who in this way also had his share in this work, a work which in its mildness and propitiating character, its effort to bring into view a genuine Catholicity, the Unity with the Ancient Church, so distinctly corresponds with Rhegius's own character. It was thus most peculiarly his own Confession, and he loved, *at a later period, to boast that he had borne part in making this Confession.*"[9]

May 22.—1. Melanchthon writes to Luther: "In the *Apology* we are daily changing many things; the part concerning *Vows*, as it was more meagre than is right, I have taken out; another discussion of the same topic, a little more full, being substituted for it. I now also am discussing concerning the Power of the Keys. I wish you would run over the Articles of Faith, in which, if you should think there is nothing of fault, we shall treat the rest as we best may (utcunque). For they are from time to time to be changed, and adapted to the occasions. The Macedonian (Philip of Hesse), is now moving that he may subscribe the document of ours, and seems as if he could be drawn back to ours, but there is need of your letters. I therefore urgently beg of you to write to him, not to burden his conscience with the defence of any impious dogma" (Zwinglianism). This letter shows that there has yet been no general movement. The Confession is still confined to Saxony. Melanchthon is laboring alone, and changing at his pleasure. He is approaching the end of the Articles on Abuses; Vows and the Power of the Keys being the last things treated in those Articles. Philip of Hesse is showing a disposition to unite in the Saxon Confession, but with some proviso, which can not be allowed. Luther is appealed to to influence him to a decided stand against Zwinglianism, without which his subscription cannot be allowed.

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[8] Corp. Reformator., II. 58, No. 697.

[9] Uhlhorn: Urban Rhegius, 153.

a. This letter of Melanchthon has been cited from the earliest period without a challenge or doubt on any point involving the clearness and value of its historical character. It is cited in the earliest and latest Histories of the Augsburg Confession; in Chytraeus;[10] Kirchner, Selneccer and Chemnitz[11]—both of them pupils of Melanchthon—Coelestinus,[12] Calovius,[13] Seckendorf,[14] Maius,[15] J. J. Müller,[16] Frick,[17] Junius-Roos-Seckendorf,[18] Löscher,[19] Cyprian,[20] Salig,[21] John George Walch,[22] C. G. F. Walch,[23] Strobel,[24] G. G. Weber,[25] Danz,[26] Hammerschmidt,[27] Köllner,[28] Ukert,[29] J. T. Müller,[30] Ledderhose,[31] Gieseler,[32] Köstlin,[33] Oehler,[34] Engelhardt,[35] Zöckler,[36] Francke,[37] I. A. H. Tittmann,[38] Burkhardt.[39]

It is given in the collections of Melanchthon's Epistles,[40] in the best collections of documentary matter bearing on the History of the Reformation,[41] and in all the larger histories of the Confession.

b. The letter of May 22d was regarded from the beginning as indisputable proof of a second sending of the Confession to Luther. Chytraeus: "Though the form of the Confession rewoven at Augsburg was then (May 15) approved by Luther, yet Melanchthon

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[10] German, 30 b. Latin, 32, 33. French, 29, 30.

[11] Gründl. Hist., Germ., III. Lat., 137. [12] Historia, I. 44.

[13] Criticus Sacer, 23, 80. [14] Commentar. Lib., II. 181.

[15] Histor. Reform., 319. Synopsis, 27. [16] Historie, 520.

[17] Ausführliche Historie (in many respects independent of Seckendorf, whom it professes to translate), 1025.

[18] Reform. Gesch., I. 541. [19] Historia Motuum, I. 160.

[20] Historia, 58. [21] Historie, I. 171.

[22] Intr. in L. S., 167. Luther's Werke, XVI. 816, No. 927. Concordienbuch Einl. in A. C., 15.

[23] Breviarium, 63. [24] Miscellaneen, II. 24. [25] Kritisch. Gesch., I. 30, 31.

[26] Augsb. Confess., 15. [27] Gesch. d. Augsb. Confess., 21.

[28] Symbolik, I. 172, 175, 23. [29] Luther's Leben, I. 233.

[30] Symbol. Bücher. Einl., LXI. Cf. Christian Book of Concord. Newmarket, 44.

[31] Melanchthon transl. by Dr. Krotel, 95.

[32] K. Geschichte, III. 1,247. H. B. Smith's Translat., IV. 139.

[33] M. Luther, II. 208, 627, n. on 215. [34] Lehrb. d. Symbolik, 113.

[35] In Niedners Zeitschrift, 572, 578. [36] Augsb. Confess., 19, n. 2.

[37] Lib. Symb. Proleg., XVI., n. 10. [38] Confessio. Fidei., XV.

[39] Luther's Briefrechsel, 176. [40] Consilia, Pezel, 90. Epist. Londini, 1642.

[41] Corp. Reform., II. 59, No. 698. Cf. Schirrmacher, 473.

daily changed some things in it, and endeavored more cautiously and accurately to arrange and polish everything, as he himself, some days after, sending a copy to Luther again (*remittens*) writes to him May 22."[42] The judgment of Chytraeus derives special value from his general character as a man and scholar, and the classic character of his History of the Augsburg Confession, which remains to this hour a standard. But this special value is heightened by the fact that he was a favorite pupil of both Luther and Melanchthon, recommended by Brenz, the great colaborer in the Confession. Melanchthon, after his first interview with the young Magister of fourteen, said: "You are of right a Magister, and shall be dear to me as a son." Chytraeus lived for six years under Melanchthon's roof, sharing his guidance, confidence and love, and doubtless hearing from Melanchthon's own lips the particulars connected with the great Confession at Augsburg.[43] As professor of the University of Rostoch (1551, nine years before Melanchthon's death), he lectured on the Augsburg Confession, and out of these lectures grew his history, finished 1576—1578.[44]

Coelestinus: "Yet (after Luther's approval May 15) Philip, some days after, sending a copy to Luther again (*remittens*), writes May 22d."[45]

Calovius: "Though afterward (after May 11) Melanchthon made changes, yet this was not done without Luther's consent, and after some days a copy of the Confession was sent again to Luther, as is evident from the letter of May 22d."[46] Nearly twenty years later Calovius repeats the same statement.[47] Maius: "Not without Luther's consent, as is clear from Philip's letter of May 22d to Luther."[48] Frick: "Melanchthon daily improved the Confession, and sent it to Luther for revision, as is clear from his letter of May 22d."[49] Loescher: Nevertheless (after the letters of May 11), he still made improvements here and there as he then sent the Doctrinal Articles a second time (abermahls) to Luther, May 22d, for him to run over."[50] Lomler: "May 11th, the Confession is sent to Luther by the Elector. May 22d, Melanchthon sends the Confession to Luther again (nochmals)."[51] De Wette: "May 22d,

[42] Lat., 32. French, 29. [43] Pressel: David Chytraeus, 6. [44] Do., 18.
[45] Historia, 43. b. [46] Critic. Sacer. 23. [47] Exegema, II. 3.
[48] Synopsis, 20. [49] Ausführl. Historie., 1025.
[50] Histor. Motuum., 160. [51] Luther's Schriften, III. 387.

Melanchthon sends the Confession to Luther again (nochmals)."[52] Fikenscher: "Melanchthon wrote again to Luther, May 22d, in order that he might receive any remarks which it might please him to make."[53]

John George Walch, after giving the correspondence of May 11–15, goes on to say: "After Melanchthon had again revised the same, and made changes here and there in it, he wrote once more to Luther, May 22d, and desired him, that if he had anything to suggest, he should inform him of it."[54]

Marheincke: After quoting Luther's reply of May 15 to the Elector's letter of May 11:—"As, however, the arrival of the Emperor was delayed, Melanchthon daily made improvements in the Confession, but submitted all the particular changes to Luther, who was satisfied with them"—he then cites in proof the letter of May 22.[55]

Rudelbach: "Melanchthon, touching the articles of faith repeatedly appealed to Luther;" and then gives in proof the letter of May 22.[56]

Calinich: After the letters of May 11: "But as the Emperor does not yet come, Melanchthon has still time to work further on the Confession, whose outward form does not yet satisfy him, as on the 22d of May he writes to Luther"—then follow the words bearing on the Confession; the important ones from "*vellem* to *tractabimus*" in Italics. "It follows from this letter," says Calinich, "that Luther must have had a copy of the Confession in his hands, and consequently indeed must have received a new one from Melanchthon, if he had, as the Electoral letter demanded, immediately sent back by the same messenger, after examining it, the copy which the Elector had sent him."[57]

Knaake:[58] "The picture (of the Siege of Vienna), as well as the letter of May 22, reached Luther." He gives in this interesting essay, what we shall quote at its place, as a demonstration that Luther received the letter of May 22.[59]

c. It is hardly necessary to point out the intrinsic absurdity of

[52] Briefe IV. 11. [53] Gesch. d. Reichstags. 54.

[54] Ausführliche Nachricht, Von D. M. Luthero, in Sämmtliche Schriften, XXIII. 490.

[55] Geschichte, II. 466. [56] Einleitung, 95. [57] Luther, u. d. A. C., 43.

[58] Luther's Antheil, 17, 46, 50, 51, 53, 54, 57, 58, 60, 61, 65, 74, 76.

[59] Do., 61–64. See Conservative Reformation, 227–230.

the supposition that in Melanchthon's request that Luther should "run over the articles of faith," he refers to the copy of May 11.

1. Melanchthon certainly knew the reasons which led the Elector to request Luther to send back at once the copy of May 11, and most probably had seen and approved the Elector's letter.

2. The copy of May 11 had actually been brought back to Augsburg before he wrote the letter of May 22. At the beginning of this letter he refers to the reception of Luther's letter to him, of May 15, with which came Luther's letter of the same date to the Elector approving of the "Apology."

3. That Melanchthon should think it necessary to ask Luther, in a letter which could not reach him earlier than May 26, to run over an urgent document which had been sent him May 11 (even apart from the fact that it was to be returned at once) is preposterous.

4. The Elector and Melanchthon had already, May 11, solicited Luther's full and careful judgment on the Confession, with unlimited power to change it, in any respect. How weak it is to suppose that eleven days after Melanchthon asks him to "*run over*" the most important part of it.

5. It is evident that verbal changes had been made in the interval, giving to the articles of faith substantially their fixed form. The request to "run over the articles" implies that in their material aspects they had already been carefully examined, and that the slight changes would require but a cursory examination. The whole tone implies a second sending.

d. This letter establishes the fact that "about this time the view becomes fixed that the other Evangelical States *who so desired* might sign the Saxon Confession."[60] This helped to prepare the way for the ultimate determination of *all* to unite in it, and not to sign it as the Saxon Confession, but to make it their own. The progress of the movement involves these stages:

1. Saxony purposes to present alone her Confession, and the other Estates are to provide for themselves—up to May 22.

2. The idea is started that some others may concur in the Confession prepared by Saxony, and still presented in the name of Saxony, about May 22.

3. The idea grows into a proposal that the Confession shall be tested, approved, adopted by all the Estates, and presented as their

[60] Köllner, 176, 179, 27.

Confession, with possibly some provision in the Introduction for special points, desired by particular Estates—June 8th.

4. It ripens into the absolute unity of presentation known as the Augsburg Confession, from June 8th.

VIII. CHRONOLOGY OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE MOVEMENT FOR MAKING IT A COMMON CONFESSION OF ALL THE LUTHERAN ESTATES, TO THE COMPLETION OF THAT MOVEMENT: MAY 23—JUNE 8.

May 24.—i. George, of Anspach, Margrave of Brandenburg, enters Augsburg. He takes an active interest in the Confession. His name is second among the signers.

ii. Pontanus, the Saxon Chancellor, working upon the preface and epilogue of the Confession.

iii. The Nürnberg Delegates write: "The Saxon Counsel has come back from Dr. Luther, but Dr. Brück, the old Chancellor, has still to form something to go before it and something to follow it (the Preface and Epilogue), and we have made arrangements that as soon as he is ready with it we are to be informed of the fact. We shall therefore make another application for it, and then send it to you. 'This Counsel is to be set forth in German, Latin and French. Our delay in writing has been caused by the hope from day to day that we might furnish definite information as to the coming of His Imperial Majesty, and might also at the same time send the Saxon Counsel. But no one knows when his Majesty will be here."[1]

iv. The Emperor demands through the Counts of Nassau and Nuenar, that the Elector of Saxony shall bring the Evangelical preaching at Augsburg to an end.[2]

May 26.—i. About this time Melanchthon prepares a "Forma

[1] Corp. Ref., II. 700. Strobel: Miscellan., II. 25. Fikenscher, 54. Köllner, 175, 24.

[2] Coelestinus, I. 50. Chytraeus, 37. Müller, 502–506. Luther's Werke: Walch, XVI., 824–828, No. 930.

Apologiæ," a short paper probably for preliminary use, at the beginning of the Diet.[3]

ii. Melanchthon's paper on the Gravamina, or burdens imposed on the conscience of the Elector, by the Emperor.[4]

iii. The Letter of the Nürnberg Legates to the Senate.[5]

iv. Melanchthon writes to Goldstein: "I have been sufficiently occupied in preparing an Apology, or rather an Exomologesis (full confession). We have been waiting here almost a whole month expecting the Autocrat, for he is not yet here."[6] "We do not yet know certainly, whether he has determined to take into cognizance the religious controversies."

May 28.—i. The Saxon Theologians and Counsellors are occupied in examining the Confession.

The Nürnberg Legates write: "The Chancellor of the Elector of Saxony told us that the Counsellors (Räthe) and the learned men (Gelehrte) were holding daily sittings on their Counsel (Rathschlag) in matters of faith, to make changes in it, and improve it, to the intent that they might put it and present it in such form, that it could not well be passed by; so that a hearing of the matter must be accorded, when they shall be ready with the Counsel. We shall apply again that we may send it to you."[7]

The document, it is seen from this, is submitted to the examination of the Counsellors and Theologians of Saxony, who had had no voice in the matter until after May 22, and even now it is Saxony alone.

ii. About this date the judgment is prepared by the Theologians, in regard to the demand of the Emperor (May 24) that the evangelical ministers should be forbidden to preach at Augsburg. This judgment is offered to the Elector of Saxony alone—and to him alone had been addressed the mandate of the Emperor.[8]

There is an opinion of the Saxon Chancellor Pontanus (Brück), on the same subject, in which he refers to the mandate of the Emperor in its more general form, as addressed to "the Electors,

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[3] Corp. Reformat., II. 701. [4] Do., 702.

[5] Corp. Reformat., II. 703. [6] Do., 704.

[7] Corp. Reformator., II. 705. Strobel: Miscell., II. 26.

[8] Coelestinus I. 33–35. Melanchthonis Consilia (Lat.) ed. Pezelius I. 103–107. Müller, 483–486. Luther's Werke: Walch, XVI. 798–802. No. 918, II. Cf. Seckendorf, Lib. II. 153. Salig., I. 163.

Princes, and Estates." The Emperor, to give a show of impartiality, made the prohibition nominally refer to both parties, although the Protestants were almost exclusively affected by it.[9]

Before May 31.—Of the Latin Manuscripts of the Confession it is supposed that two are older than May 31.

These are:

1. The Dessau Codex. It is preserved in the Archives of the Duchy of Anhalt. It has not the title, preface and epilogue. See May 31. It was brought from the Diet by Prince Wolfgang.[10]

2. Hessian Codex I. It is preserved in the Archives at Cassel. It was taken home by Philip of Hesse on his return from Augsburg. It embraces only the Articles of Faith, and these "in their early, or indeed their earliest form."[11]

May 31.—i. The Confession in German is not yet finished. A copy of the Confession in Latin is given to the Nürnberg Legates. It wants the preface and epilogue, and the article on Faith and Works.

The Nürnberg Legates write: "The Saxon Counsel (Rathschlag) is not yet ready (in German)." "But the same articles, as they have been handled up to this time in Latin, have been handed to us, which, with the exception of the preface and conclusion, about which there is yet the most doubt, we will have transcribed and sent to you. As soon, after which, as they are ready with the German, which they are daily improving, we shall solicit a copy of that for you."[12] The preface and conclusion in the Latin are evidently written, but it is yet an open question whether they are to be in the name of Saxony alone.

The doubt about the preface and conclusion, which Pontanus prepared, is evidently as to whose name they shall be made out in —that of Saxony or of the whole body of Protestant Princes and Estates.

ii. The Elector of Saxony replies to the Emperor's mandate of May 24, declining to yield to it.[13]

[9] Corp. Reformat., II., No. 707. Müller, 489. Luther's Werke: Walch, XVI. 804–807, No. 921.

[10] Weber, I. 87 sq. Francke: L. S. XXI. 4.

[11] Förstemann, I. 372, 442. Francke: L. S., XXI. 5.

[12] Corp. Reformat., II. 708.

[13] Coelestinus, I. 50b–53b. Chytraeus: Germ., 32–38. Lat., 37–42. Müller,

iii. On this day we have the first allusion to any persons outside of the Saxon circle having a copy of the Confession put into their hands.

The proposition that the Confession should be presented in the name of the Estates was opposed by Melanchthon, who thought it should be offered in the name of the theologians, leaving the Princes unembarrassed.[14]

Between May 31 and June 16.—The Latin Codices of this period are:

1. The Fabrician.[15]

2. The Würzburg Codex (Wirceburg) in the royal archives of Bavaria.[16]

3. The Ratisbon Codex—Among the Acta of the Ratisbon Diocese.[17]

4. The Hessian Codex II. in the Archives at Cassel.[18]

5. The Anspach Codex formerly in the Archives of George, Margrave of Brandenburg, now in the Royal Archives at Nürnberg.[19]

June 1.—i. About this date Melanchthon's Judgment on the Six Questions, entirely in the name of the Elector: 1. Of the Eating of Flesh. 2. The taking up of Questions of Faith at the Diet. 3. The Calling of a Council. 4. Of Spiritual Jurisdiction. 5. The old Constitutions and Canons. 6. The Cloisters.[20]

ii. The Elector of Saxony writes to Luther, thanks him for his letter of "Christian Exhortation and Comfort" (May 20), gives him certain information, *to be kept secret*, in regard to a commu-

506–517. Luther's Werke: Walch, XVI. 828–839, No. 931. Förstemann. Urkndbch. I. 224. Cf. Brück's Geschichte, 25.

[14] Camerarius de Vita Mel., 120. Matthes: Phil. Mel., 113.

[15] Harm. Conf. Aug., 1573. Coelestinus, II. 169–188. Weber, I. 70–100. II. Praef. Francke, L. S. XXI. 6.

[16] Förstemann, I. 446. Francke, XXI. 7.

[17] Förstemann, I. 446 sqq., 468 sqq.

[18] Förstemann, I. 444. Francke: L. S., XXII. 9.

[19] Weber, I. 81. sq. Förstemann, I. 442, sq. Francke: L. S. XXII. 10.

[20] Corp. Reformat., 709. Müller, 498 in part. Luther's Werke: Walch., XVI. 807, No. 922, in part. Cf. Seckendorf, II. 153.

nication in which the Emperor makes charges against the Elector.[21]

iii. Luther writes to Jacob Probst, Licentiate of theology, minister in Bremen.[22] This letter abounds with unmistakable references to Melanchthon's letter of May 22. It repeats the items of news given by Melanchthon, in the same order, in the very words, in a number of cases; with a transfer of marked peculiarities of words and style. Luther himself says expressly,[23] that he had received no letters from his personal friends in Wittenberg, written between May 22 and June 1.

June 2.—i. Cochleus solicits a secret interview with Melanchthon.[24]

ii. Luther writes to Melanchthon: "Yesterday Hans Reyneck, of Mansfeld, and George Romer were with us, and Argula von Stauffer is here to-day." He expresses his determination to break up the coming to Coburg, and adds: "Therefore, do you also, and yours, so speak and write in future in consonance with this wish, that they shall no longer seek me here. For I wish to be carefully concealed, and in future, in consonance with this, do you also keep me carefully concealed, both in what you say, and in your letters." Luther's desire to be concealed was not from aversion to visits in general, or to these visitors. But secrecy was essential to freedom of communication with him, the safety of what was sent to him, and his personal safety.

iii. In the same letter: "Here they are beginning to argue with us, that your Diet will amount to nothing, and that the Emperor will be drawn away by the guile and arts of such a number of bishops, till everybody being worn out, you will be compelled to return home. There is no hope that the Elector of Treves and the Palsgrave will be present, and the Emperor, trained in the art of the Papists, will discover reasons for not coming to Augsburg."[25] Luther, without adopting these rumors as reliable, confesses that he

[21] Coelestinus, I. 53. Chytraeus, Lat. 37. Fr., 35. Ger., 35b. Luther's Werke: Leipz., XX. 175. Walch, XVI. 839, No. 932.

[22] Coelestinus, I. 54. Buddeus, 103, No. 123. German, Leipz., XIX. 531 (in part). Walch, XVI. 2823. De Wette, IV. 27.

[23] Letters of June 19 and 20.

[24] Corp. Ref., II. 710.

[25] Coelestinus, I. 60 b. Buddeus, 106. Walch, XVI. 2826. De Wette, IV. 30, No 1219.

was greatly agitated by them. The Elector of Treves, Greiffenclau von Vollrath, on account of his great age, did not appear at Augsburg; nor did the Palsgrave, the Count Palatine, Louis the Peaceful. Both were represented, however, by legates. Both had shown a spirit of justice and gentleness toward the Reformation, and hence the sadness of Luther at the abandonment of the hopes of their appearing. Both died the year following.[26]

June 3.—1. Melanchthon urges Lachmann not to favor the Zwinglian doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

2. The Nürnberg Legates send a Latin copy of the Confession to the Senate of Nürnberg: "Herewith we send you a copy of the Saxon Counsel in Latin, and the Preface or Introduction is with it. But there is wanting at the end an article or two, together with the Conclusion, on which the Saxon theologians are still at work. As soon as it is ready it shall be sent to you. In the meantime your excellencies may have your theologians and preachers to examine this and give their counsel upon it. As soon as the Confession is put into German, it shall not be kept back from you. In any case it is the desire of the Saxons that you should keep this Counsel or Draft *secret, and allow no one to have a copy*, until it has been submitted to His Imperial Majesty. They have their reasons for this. Therefore, your excellencies will, on this account, *observe precaution* in the case of those who are allowed to get it, and see to it that a Latin copy is sent back to us. If your excellencies' preachers and theologians determine to make any changes or improvements in this Counsel, or the one previously sent, you will please also send them to us." [27]

June 4.—(About this date) Brentius writes to Isenmann: "It is thought the Emperor will not reach us before Corpus Christi. Cochleus wrote recently to Philip (see June 2) that he wished to have a conversation with him, but there were to be no married priests present. Philip took me, therefore, as I am not yet married. See what blessedness my celibacy brings me—that I have the privilege of talking with Cochleus. We have so softened him

[26] Rotermund: Geschichte, 228–230.

[27] Corp. Ref. II. No. 712, Strobel; Miscellan., II. 27. See Köllner, 171, 174, 15.

that he now salutes married priests, and treats them just as courteously as he treats others."[28]

June 5.—i. The Elector of Saxony expresses to Kress, the Nürnberg Legate, his grief at the Emperor's course in repressing the preaching, and tells him that he had been thinking of leaving Augsburg.[29]

ii. Luther writes to Link: "I am sorry to hear that there are doubts about the Diet.... We shall change our location to-morrow, on account of the frequency of visitors. The pilgrimage is becoming too great to this point. It would offend the Prince" (the Elector).[30]

iii. Luther writes to the Abbot, Frederick, at Nürnberg.[31]

iv. Luther writes to Melanchthon: reproaches him that he had allowed two messengers to return from Augsburg without letters from himself or the others—"as there are so many of you, and nearly all ready writers. From *Nürnberg we received intelligence* which would argue that the Emperor is not coming to the Diet at all, and that the whole thing will prove a failure."[32]

June 7.—Luther writes to Melanchthon, complaining of the silence of his friends in Augsburg, but in an entirely playful manner.[33]

June 8.—1. Prologue (preface) and Epilogue of the Confession not yet finished.

2. Up to this time the Confession had been written solely in the name of the Duke of Saxony the Elector John.

3. The Protestant Princes and cities, move to enter into an arrangement with the Elector, to have the Confession exhibited in the names of all. The Nürnberg Legates write: "The Saxon Declaration of Faith, which we recently sent you, we presume you have already given to your preachers and to your jurists for their deliberations. And we should have liked to send to you the Supplement and Conclusion of the Declaration, but the Saxons are, up to this time, not yet ready therewith. We shall, however, make another application therefor. And since it is your opinion, contained in our instruction, that we, in your behalf, shall

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[28] Corp. Reformat., II. No. 713.

[29] Corp. Ref., II. No. 714.

[30] Briefe: De Wette, IV. 30. No. 1220.

[31] De Wette IV. 34, No. 1222.

[32] Briefe: De Wette, IV. 32., No. 1221.

[33] De Wette, IV. 35, No. 1223.

stand with the Elector, and with the Margrave George (of Brandenburg), and that the action of their Electoral and Princely Graces and your own, shall in this case be one and the same, and yet as the Saxon statement (Verzeichniss) is presented in the form of a petition, *in the name of the Elector alone*, we are of opinion that it will be necessary to consider whether in connection with the Saxon statement, your Excellencies should set forth a separate statement to be submitted to His Imperial Majesty by itself, in your name, or whether, on the other hand, the question should be raised before the Elector in regard to presenting the statement of His Electoral Grace, *not in the name of His Grace alone*, but in common, in the name of the Margrave George (of Brandenburg), and also of your Excellencies, and of the other Estates and Cities involved in this matter. We shall await your instructions as to the position we are to take, and as to our holding a previous consultation with Margrave George. I, Kress, have however already spoken with the Chancellor of the Margrave about it, and he says that the Preachers and Jurists of his Master are already in consultation on the subject, and that his Master finds the same fault that we find, that is, that the Saxon Statement is set forth in the name of the Elector alone, and that the Margrave is also in favor of presenting it in common in the name of all the Princes and cities which are agreed in the Articles of Faith and adhere to His Grace and the Elector. Such an arrangement could probably be readily brought about, and yet, in the Introduction, there could be separately specified and noted what had been presented to His Majesty and the Empire on account of each particular Prince and Estate, which was of such a nature that it could not be embraced in the statement made in common. May it, therefore, please your Excellencies to consider, in connection with other matters, what shall be presented, in the Introduction, on your account, and with the help of your Jurists, to permit the same to be put into formal shape."[34]

[34] Corp. Reformat., II. No. 715. Fikenscher, 56. Köllner, 176, 179, 34.

IX. CHRONOLOGY OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION, FROM THE COMPLETE PROPOSAL THAT IT SHOULD BE A COMMON CONFESSION TO ITS DELIVERY: JUNE 9—JUNE 25, 1530.

June 11.—The Landgrave of Hesse attempts to induce Melanchthon and Brentius to favor the admission of the Zwinglians into fellowship with the Lutherans. Melanchthon and Brentius unite in a letter to the Landgrave, strongly urging the impossibility of such a fellowship. The Landgrave replies. Melanchthon and Brentius answer him.[1]

June 13.—1. Melanchthon writes to Luther to urge the Landgrave to avoid the Zwinglians, whom he charges with a seditious spirit: "The expectation of your letter to the Landgrave so tortured me that I was able to write nothing in the interim. For I have asked you to write to him not to precipitate himself into the impious cause of the Quibblers (the Zwinglians). For he is wrangling in a wonderful way with everybody, about that matter. Henry of Brunswick complained to me, to-day, grievously of the disputes of the Landgrave about that matter, and begs that in every way we exert ourselves that he be not torn from us. The Zwinglians are laying wonderful snares for him. I am almost consumed with the most wretched cares."[2]

2. Melanchthon writes to Vitus Theodorus: "I implore you that you urge the Doctor to write to the Landgrave. He perhaps imagines, that he can accomplish little by so doing; but as the matter still stands, we are in some hope that his letter will not prove useless. Our cause would be less odious, if the Zwinglians did not prejudice it, who to their seditious counsels against the Emperor add also intolerable dogmas."[3]

These letters show that Melanchthon had no knowledge of any letter written up to this date by Luther to the Landgrave; that he assumes that Luther could not have written without his knowledge. The latest investigations clear up this matter, and show that Luther had not written, as is generally stated, May 20, but that the true date of his letter to the Landgrave is June 20. See that date.

[1] Chytraeus: Germ. (1580), 358–360. Lat., 648–651. French, 467–470 Grundl. Historia, 112–114. Lat., 138–141. Coelestinus, I. 60–63. Luther's Werke: Walch, XVII. 2383–2386, No. 37.

[2] Corp. Ref., IV. 1008, No. 721 a. [3] Do., II. 103, No. 721.

June 14.—The Nürnberg Legates receive a copy of the German Confession, but without the Prologue and Epilogue, as it is hoped that the Confession will be presented to the Emperor in the name of all the Protestants In this German copy Melanchthon, in anticipation of a decision gladly already virtually made by Saxony, has, for the terms in the articles implying that the Confession is for Saxony only, substituted common terms adapted to the concurrence of all the Estates.[4] Matthes connects with this date Melanchthon's words of 1560.[5]

June 15.—i. The Emperor enters Augsburg.[6]

ii. The Nürnberg Legates send the Confessson in German to Nürnberg. They write: "The Saxon summary (Begriff) in the matter, is ready in the German, and we send it herewith to you. But the Preface and Conclusion are not with it, and, as Philip Melanchthon has stated, he has not rendered any part of those into German, because he anticipates that this very same Preface and Conclusion may be presented not only in the name of the Elector, but in common in the names of all the United Lutheran Princes and Estates; as for this same reason, as you will notice, he has already made changes in the articles in German—that is, where in the Latin it is said 'that in the Electorate of Saxony this or that has been preached and held,' he omits in the German the words 'Electorate of Saxony,' and puts in their place some common term which may apply to all the Estates. This Summary you will please submit to your preachers and jurists, and send us their opinion and advice upon it. . . . The Articles on Faith and Works, which is placed at the end of the German Summary, is not in the Latin Summary which we sent you. . . . We are not able to send it to you in Latin, as it is not yet made out, but expect that it will be ready in about two days."[7]

[4] Corp. Ref., II. 723. Fikenscher, 54, 55. Köllner, 177, 179, 36.

[5] Phil. Mel., 113, n. c.

[6] Die Alte und Erste Relation von Reichstag zu Augsburg, in Cyprian. Beylagen. Num., VI. 60–84 Walch, XVI. 841, No. 935. See Coelestin., I. 68. Seckendorf, II. 161. Müller: Historie, 522. Salig., I. 178. Another description, Luther's Werke: Jena, V. 33. Altb., 25. Leipzig, XX. 201. Walch, XVI. 870, No. 937. Chytraeus: Germ., 83. Lat., 43.

[7] Corp. Ref., II. No. 723. Fikenscher, 54. Köllner, 180, 37.

June 16.—1. The Nürnbergers write: "His Majesty had a private interview with the four Princes, to wit: the Elector of Saxony, Margrave George, the Duke of Luneburg, and the Landgrave of Hesse."[8]

2. A writing of the Evangelical Princes to the Emperor, in regard to the silencing of their preachers, signed only by the five Princes. The names of John Frederick and Francis are not attached to it.[9]

3. The opinion (Bedenken) of the Saxon theologians discusses the question: "Whether the Elector of Saxony *and others* ('the Protestant Princes') can take part without violation of conscience in the procession on Corpus Christi Day."[10]

4. In consequence of the sickness of the Elector, the result of his late detention by the Emperor, the night before, his son, John Frederic, by the will and command of his father, takes his place. He and George of Brandenburg, Ernest, Duke of Luneburg, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, and Wolfgang, appear before the Emperor. George of Brandenburg states that they could not be present in the procession of Corpus Christi, nor interdict the preaching of their theologians.[11]

June 19.—1. The Nürnberg Legates write: "But the conclusion which belongs to this document is not yet made out. For it may be, as Philip Melanchthon has expressed his opinion that it may, that the matter may not come to so expanded a treatment, but be contracted still more, and brought into a narrower compass and treatment. Whichever may turn out to be the case, whether the former one be completed, or a new concept made, we will inform you of it."[12]

2. Brentius writes to Isenmann: "The Emperor summoned to him our three Princes, whom they call evangelical—the Prince Elector of Saxony, the Margrave George (of Brandenburg), and the Landgrave of Hesse—these alone, he called to himself alone, no one being present with him but Ferdinand, who also acted as interpreter."[13]

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[8] Corp. Reform., II. 106, No. 724. Strobel: Miscellan., II. 28.

[9] Chytraeus, 41–44. Müller, 538–545. Walch, XVI. 881, seq. In Latin, Chytraeus, 46–49. Coelestinus, I. 86–89. Förstemann, No. 98.

[10] Corp. Ref., II. 110, No. 726. Müller, 525. Luther's Werke: Walch, XVI. 808, No. 923. Coelestinus, I. 66, 67. See Seckendorf, II. 162.

[11] Corp. Ref., II. 111, No. 726. Coelestinus, I. 81 b.

[12] Corp. Ref., II. 112, No. 728. [13] Corp. Ref., II. 114, No. 729.

June 20.—i. Opening of the Diet, Monday.[14]

ii. The Propositions of the Emperor are read before the Princes and Orders of the Empire. They treat in part of the mode of restoring harmony in religion.[15]

iii. The Elector of Saxony takes counsel in the evening with his associates in the faith.[16]

iv. Luther says in a letter to Erhard Schnepf, Chaplain of Philip of Hesse: "I have written to the same, your Prince, a letter, which you see before you, and if it be convenient will yourself deliver [to him], and if there is need, say something to prepare the way for it."[17] This letter seems to settle it absolutely that the letter of Luther to the Landgrave, usually dated May 20, ought to be dated June 20, and thus clears up a multitude of otherwise insuperable difficulties. See May 20, Luther's letter; June 13, Melanchthon's letters to Luther, and Veit Dietrich.

v. Luther writes to Justus Jonas, at Augsburg:[18]

a. "Your letter has come at last, after you had tormented us sufficiently by constant silence for three whole weeks, although I twice wrote to Philip that you should not be thus silent."

This letter is very important in its bearing on some of the confused questions in the chronology of the Confession. First it marks the length of time of the break in Luther's personal correspondence with his friends in Augsburg. He received the letter of Jonas June 19: "Three whole weeks" would carry back the receipt of the last letters to about May 29. To have received them May 29, by ordinary carriage, they could not have been sent from Augsburg later than about May 25. Taking May 25 as the point of regressive beginning, and going back from it till we reach letters written to Luther, we find that Melanchthon's letters of May 22 to Luther, and Veit Dietrich (see that date) and the letters of Urban Rhegius to Luther May 21, alone fulfill the conditions.

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[14] Coelestinus, I. 102 b. Müller: Histor., 559; Köllner, 197.

[15] Coelestinus, I. 116. Chytraeus, Germ., 47. See Müller, 564 seq. Förstemann, Urkndbch., I. 295. Köllner, 198.

[16] Coelestinus, 121 b. Köllner, 198.

[17] Luther's Briefe: De Wette, IV. 44, No. 1231.

[18] Coelestinus, I. 136 b. Chytraeus, 141. Buddeus, 108. De Wette IV. 45, No. 1232. Germ.: Chytraeus, 120 (229), Cyprian's Beylagen; 176; Walch, XVI. 976. French: Chytraeus, (Le Cop.), 132. See Seckendorf, II. 181. Frick, 1089.

Back of that, the first letters to Luther on record, are those of the Elector and Melanchthon, May 11 (see that date). This is strongly confirmatory of the fact, which is apart from this, however, beyond all dispute that Luther received Melanchthon's letters of May 22 without any serious delay.

Between May 22 and June 13, when Melanchthon again wrote, are precisely three weeks.

b. It is now a question of great interest whether we possess the letter of Jonas, to which this of June 20 is an answer. And to this the reply, on anything short of a thorough examination, would be that there is a letter of Jonas, to which this is manifestly an answer. There is a letter of Jonas bearing apparently irresistible internal evidence that there is some relation between it and Luther's of June 20, and that the relation is that Luther's is the reply to it.[19]

c. The Corpus Reformatorum[20] gives another letter of Jonas, as the one to which Luther's with the date June 20 is the reply,[21] and says that this letter of Jonas was written about June 29, and that there must be an error in the date of Luther's, and proposes June 30 as the correct date. It says Luther's response to *this* letter is given in Walch.,[22] but Walch gives another letter of Jonas' cited under b, as the one to which Luther replies, and this is beyond doubt so far right that the related letters are those which Walch gives together.

d. There is an insuperable barrier if the dates stand, to the theory that Luther's letter of June 20, is in reply to any letter of Jonas which we now have. The later letter of Jonas was written after June 25, and not earlier than June 29; the earlier letter of Jonas was written *on* June 25, in the morning of the day, on the afternoon of which the Confession was delivered. If the date June 20 stands for Luther's letter, we have not the letter of Jonas to which it is a reply. Is the theory of Bretschneider[23] tenable, that Luther's letter ought to be dated June 30? We think not. The necessity for it which Bretschneider thought he saw, rests on a mistake. There is no relation between the letter of Jonas which he cites, and the reply

[19] It is given in Coelestinus, I. 135, 136. Walch., XVI. 973, No. 957.

[20] II. 154, No. 752.

[21] Coelestinus, II. 205, who gives it under July 3 as a "fragment."

[22] XVI. 976. [23] Corp. Ref., II. No. 752.

of Luther dated June 20. Nor would a letter written at Augsburg June 29, be likely to be answered by Luther June 30. There is no external evidence to shake the correctness of the date June 20; there is much both external and internal to corroborate it.

The first sentence of Luther's letter, dated June 20, is sufficient to show that it was not written June 30. The "three full weeks of silence," exactly fit, as we have seen, the date June 20. Three full weeks back from June 30, would bring us to June 10. Allow three days for carriage, and we have June 7. But there is no known letter to Luther of that date; but we have Melanchthon's of June 13, June 19, June 25, June 26, June 27, to Luther: we have Luther, June 19, complaining to Cordatus of the silence of his friends at Augsburg; at the same date to Zwilling, that he had not heard during the month of June from Augsburg; June 20, Luther is sending a letter to Schnepf at Augsburg, enclosing a letter to Philip of Hesse; June 25, Luther writes to Hausmann, news from Augsburg evidently derived from letters recently received; June 27, he replies to a recent letter of Melanchthon's, and speaks of a letter received from Jonas The evidence is ample and conclusive that there is no reason for changing the date of Luther's letter of June 20. And the date of the letter of Jonas is fixed by positive internal evidence, as June 25.

After a thorough survey of the facts, we are satisfied that the theory which best harmonizes them, is that *Jonas's letter of June 25, is the answer to Luther's of June 20*, and that the striking and unmistakable points of coincidence, are the result of Jonas's reply to Luther. Luther's words again, June 20, may refer to the earlier letter of Jonas, which is lost.[24]

e. The two letters in which Luther makes complaint to Melanchthon of his silence are the letters of June 5 and June 7. Melanchthon answers the letter of June 5 on the 13th, and Melanchthon's of the 13th, leads to Luther's letter to Philip on the 20th. Melanchthon's letters of June 13 and 19, are alluded to in Luther's letter of June 27 to Melanchthon.

June 21.—i. The Nürnberg Legates write: "Alphonsus Valdesius called Melanchthon to his presence several times, and ex-

[24] This theory completely satisfies the facts, stated by Kaanich: Luther's Antheil, 118, 135, and a number of other facts which are not consonant with his view, which is that the date should be June 30. See Schirrmacher, 362, 486.

pressed the wish to know what was the Lutheran desire, and how the matter might be arranged. Thereupon Melanchthon replied to him, about to this effect: The discord had arisen mainly on the articles following: The Sacrament, in two kinds, the marriage of priests and monks, the separate private masses. If there were an understanding on these articles, he thought that means could easily be found for a satisfactory arrangement in other particulars.[25]

It is evident that the point involved in the conference between Valdesius and Melanchthon, was that of the abuses to be corrected, and not the question of doctrine.

ii. On the morning of Tuesday, the Elector, in solitude, gave himself to the reading of the Psalms, and to fervent prayers to God, to aid him in the high and holy work to which he had been called. After carefully weighing the proposition of the Emperor, he called his son John Frederick, Melanchthon and Pontanus (Brück), and had a long and confidential interview with them, stating that his own conviction and wish were that the political questions should not be touched till the interests of Religion had been weighed, but that nevertheless he would announce no decision without the consent and counsel of those who were associated with him in the matter of religion. At a later hour all the Estates were summoned to his residence; the Emperor's Proposition was read to them, and they were requested carefully to weigh it, and to come prepared the next day to discuss it and decide upon the proper course to take in regard to it.[26]

June 22.—The Lutheran Estates concur in the request that the religious questions first be taken up. The Roman Catholic Estates agree to this, but decline to present any writing, as they hold to the old faith, and conform strictly to the Edict of Worms. Friday, the 24th, is appointed to hear the Protestant paper. "The five, Elector and Princes," as Brück constantly calls them, direct the further careful examination of the Confession on the part of the theologians and counselors, and solicit for an extension of time to one day later, that a careful transcript may be made. The request is refused.[27]

June 23.—i. On the Vigil of John the Baptist, Thursday, in the

[25] Corp. Ref., II. 121, No. 734.

[26] Coelestinus, 122. Müller, 568. Köllner, 198.

[27] Brück, 48–50. Müller, 561 seq., 570. Köllner, 198–200.

full assembly of the Evangelical Estates, the Confession was read once more so that if any one had an objection to make, or a change to suggest, it might be fully expressed and acted on. The Confession as thus read, was approved by all and each, without the suggestion of a change of any kind, and it was determined to solicit His Majesty on the following day that it might be read in the audience of all the Estates of the Empire.[28]

ii. The signing of the Confession almost certainly followed upon the reading. It is a difficulty still answered in opposite ways, whether John Frederick, of Saxony, and Duke Francis, of Luneberg, signed the German Confession.[29] It is beyond dispute that they were kept entirely in the background in all the preliminaries.

June 24.—1. Convention of all the orders of the Empire.

2. The Protestants urge that they be now allowed to read their Confession in public before it is given to the Emperor. The Emperor promises that he will hear it the next day.

The Romish party resort to various expedients to get rid of the public reading. The Emperor endeavors to get possession of the Confession before it is read, but the firmness and moderation of the Lutheran Estates triumph. The time has been consumed, so that it cannot be read on the day appointed.

Before June 25.—The German Codices are:

1. Spalatin's copy in his own writing of the Augsburg Confession. This[30] belongs to the first or earliest of the families of Codices.

2. The Anspach Codex I. contains the articles of faith, with the epilogue of part first.[31] It belongs to the second family of German Codices, coming between Spalatin and the Confession in its last form. Probable date, before June 16. Taken home by the Margrave George.

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[28] Coelestinus, I. 123 b. Köllner, 199–201.

[29] See the able discussion in Köllner, 201. Plitt decides against the signing, R. E., 1877, 773.

[30] Förstemann, Urkundenbuch, I. 310–343. No. 103, Weber, Gesch. d. A. C., I., 168–174, cf. Cyprian: Historia, Beylagen, XII. 167, 168. Luther's Werke Walch., XVI. 782, No. 903.

[31] Weber, I. 176 sq. 309 sq. Förstemann, I. 274 sq. 280 note. The text entire, do., 343–355. Francke, L. S., XXII. 14.

3. The Hannoverian Codex, in the Royal Electoral Archives,[32] belongs to the second family of German Codices.

4. The Mentz Codex—third family.

5. The Weimar Codex.

6. The Nürnberg Codex.

7. The Hessian Codex.

8. The Munich Codex.

9. The Anspach Codex II.

June 25.—i. The Elector John writes to Luther before the delivery of the Confession, "which we with the other Princes and Estates which are associated with us in the matter are to present."[33]

ii. Melanchthon writes to Luther: "To-day our articles of faith will be presented. The Landgrave approves of our Confession and has subscribed it."[34]

iii. Justus Jonas writes to Luther:[35] "To-day at two o'clock our articles are to be read.

iv. The Nürnberg Legates write to the Senate: "On last Wednesday (June 22, see that date), at the desire of His Imperial Majesty, the Elector, Princes, and Councils, after taking counsel, came together, and thereupon determined that the Articles of Faith should take precedence of the Turkish Question in the discussions" (of the Diet).

"We and the legate from Reutlingen were summoned to come on last Thursday (June 23, see that date) early, to the [Princes of] Saxony, Hesse, Margrave George and Luneburg; there in the presence of their Highnesses, of their counselors and theologians, of which theologians there are twelve, independently of the other Scholars and Doctors, the Instruction (Unterricht) which had been drawn up concerning the faith was read and examined, and it was determined to present and read it to His Majesty before the Estates of the Empire yesterday afternoon" (Friday, June 24th). . . . A graphic account is then given of the struggle already detailed. "The Instruction (Unterricht) is to be heard to day. The Instruction, as far as the Articles of Faith are concerned, is in substance quite in conformity with what we have before sent to your

[32] Weber, I. 180, sq. Francke, L. S., XXII. 14.

[33] Walch, XVI. 893.

[34] Corp. Ref., II. 125.

[35] Coelestinus, I. 135. Walch, XVI. 973. See June 20, Luther's letter.

Excellencies, except that it has been improved in several places, and has altogether been put very mildly, but still in our judgment nothing necessary has been omitted. We have, therefore, as your representatives, accepted it, and in your name adhere in it with the Princes and Reutlingen." . . . "We are also informed that after the close of the proceedings several of the cities made complaint that we had not informed them of the Princes' intentions, and taken them with us." "Sent Saturday, June 25th, early, as soon as the gates were open, 1530."[36]

v. The Augsburg Confession distinctly states who present it. "We whose names are subscribed, the Elector and Princes, and others conjoined with us," and the subscriptions show who they were. Beyond all dispute, 1. The Elector John; 2. George of Brandenburg; 3. Ernst of Luneburg; 4. Philip of Hesse; 5. Wolfgang of Anhalt; 6. Nürnberg; 7. Reutlingen. Two of the signatures to the German are disputed, 1. John Frederick; 2. Francis of Luneberg. The Preface, the words of the Articles, and the signatures prove that the seven first named Estates were participant in the discussion which ended in the adoption of the Confession as a common Formula of Faith.

X. CHRONOLOGY OF TESTIMONY, FROM THE DAY AFTER THE DELIVERY OF THE CONFESSION TO THE PUBLICATION OF THE LETTERS OF THE ELECTOR AND LUTHER (OF MAY 11 AND 15): JUNE 26, 1530—1557.

June 26.—i. The Protestants, at the request of the Emperor, promise not to publish the Confession without his knowledge and consent.

ii. Melanchthon writes to Camerarius: "Yesterday our Confession was presented to the Emperor. I changed and refashioned many things daily, and would even have changed more, if our counselors would have permitted it. I wish that you could get our apology to read, but the Emperor forbids it to be printed."[1]

iii. Melanchthon writes to Luther; speaks of the sorrows and

[36] Corp. Reformatorum, II. 127, No. 738. Strobel Miscellan., II. 34. Fikenscher, 82, 83.

[1] Corp. Reform., II. 140, No. 741.

perils which surround him, in which Luther's consolation is the only thing which could comfort him. His enemies are active, his friends gone. He is alone and deserted. He looks to Luther as his authority in all things, however great, for guidance in action, for comfort in sorrow. "Our defence has been read to the Emperor; I send it to you to read."[2]

iv. Melanchthon writes to Vitus Theodorus (Veit Dietrich), who is with Luther at Coburg. He implores Vitus to use his influence with Luther. "For the letter written to the Landgrave, I have you to thank, that you at last forced him to it. I hope it will do good. Already, indeed, the Landgrave has subscribed with us in the Confession, where there is also an article concerning the Lord's Supper, in accordance with Luther's view."[3]

June 27.—i. Luther writes to Melanchthon, strengthening him. He closes by saying: "If I shall hear that matters with you are in a bad state and that there is danger, I shall scarce restrain myself from flying to you, that I may see how terrible the teeth of the Devil are round about you, as the Scripture saith (Job xli. 14)."[4] The whole correspondence shows that Luther's anxiety was in regard to the safety of his friends, and the protection of the cause from the violence and craft of its enemies.

ii. Melanchthon writes to Luther twice in one day, and to Veit Dietrich, showing intense anxiety for Luther's advice and consolation.[5]

About June 29 Jonas writes to Luther, giving an account of the delivery of the Confession.[6]

June 30.—i. Veit Dietrich writes to Melanchthon, in reply to his letter of June 26 (see that date), acknowledging that to his (Dietrich's) urgency and persistency is due the letter written by Luther to the Landgrave, and asks Melanchthon to let him know

[2] Corp. Reform., II. 140, No. 741. [3] Corp. Reform., 141, No. 742.

[4] Coelestin., II. 198. Chytraeus, 135. Buddeus, 111. Cyprian. Beyl., 179. Briefe: De Wette, IV. 48, No. 1234. Germ., Spalatin, Annales, 217. Chytraeus, 98 (223). French, 128. Luther's Werke: Jena, V. 55. Leipz., XX. 184. Walch., XVI. 1062. See Frick's Seckendorf, 1089.

[5] Corp. Reformat., 144–147, Nos. 744–746.

[6] Coelestinus, II. 205. Walch, XVI. 1049, No. 965. Corp. Reform., II 154, No. 752. See June 20 and 25.

how the letter was received by the Landgrave (see May 20 and June 20 .[7]

ii. Melanchthon writes to Veit Dietrich—is anxious to know Luther's opinion of the "Apology" (the Confession).[8]

iii. Luther writes to Brentius one of his grandest letters of encouragement.[9]

iv. Luther writes to John Agricola : anticipates little result from the Diet.[10]

v. Luther writes to Spalatin : complains of the silence of his friends in Augsburg ; exhorts them to trust in God.[11]

vi. Luther writes to Melanchthon a powerful letter of encouragement : "I would rather fall with Christ than stand with the Emperor."[12]

vii. Luther writes to John Frederick, the Electoral Prince, a letter of strengthening.[13]

July 3.—i. Luther writes to Melanchthon : "I yesterday reread your Apology carefully entire (totam), and it pleases me exceedingly."[14]

ii. Melanchthon writes to Veit Deitrich—wishes to know whether Luther received the picture of Vienna besieged (see letter of May 22); he speaks of it as a beautifully painted picture, and suspects that the messenger has sold it, and speaks of the stupidity and treachery he has encountered on the part of the Suabian messengers.[15]

July 4.—Andrew Osiander writes to Linck and Schleupner : Melanchthon is overwhelmed with labors and care, and overcome with a causeless melancholy, very dejecting to others.[16]

July 5.—Luther to Melanchthon : "We have good hope, not

[7] Corp. Ref., II. 158, No. 755. Coelestinus, II. 275. Walch, XVI. 2137.

[8] Corp. Ref., II. 157, No. 754.

[9] Coelestinus, I. 201. Buddeus, 123. Chytraeus, 104. Werke: Jena, V. 58. Altenb., V. 167. Leipz., XX. 194. Walch., XVI. 1079.

[10] Coelestin., I. 92 b. Buddeus, 119. Walch, XVI. 890.

[11] Coelestin., I. 200. Buddeus, 120. Walch, XVI. 1076. De Wette, IV. 59.

[12] Buddeus, 116. Walch, XVI. 1073. De Wette, IV. 62.

[13] Walch, XVI. 2132. De Wette, IV. 64. Erlangen, 54, 157.

[14] Coelestin., II. 204 b. Buddeus, 127, No. 137. De Wette, IV. 67, No. 1243. In German: Walch, XVI. 1082, No. 984. See Conserval. Reformat., 234 (erratum of June for July), 239, 240.

[15] Corp. Ref., II. 162, No. 757. [16] Corp. Reform., II. 163, No. 759.

from your Diets and Councils, but from Christ's power and presence with you."[17]

July 6.—i. The Nürnberg Legates send a copy of the Confession in Latin to the Senate of Nürnberg.[18]

ii. The Halle Legates send a copy of the German Confession to Halle in Schwabia.

iii. Luther writes to Nicholas Hausmann, "faithful and most unblemished bishop of the Church at Zwickau," giving him an account of the reading of the Confession at Augsburg: "Our Confession, which our Philip has prepared"—words of paternal love and pure admiration.[19]

iv. Luther writes to Cordatus: "So glorious a Confession."[20]

v. Luther writes to Albert, Archbishop of Mentz: "By this Confession we clearly testify and demonstrate that we have not taught wrongly or falsely."[21]

July 9.—i. Luther writes to the Elector John: "They were compelled to hear more from the Confession than they would have heard from the preachers for a year."[22]

ii. Luther to Jonas: "Christ has been proclaimed in a public and glorious Confession."[23]

July 12.—Brentius sends a copy of the Confession in Latin to Halle in Schwabia.

July 13.—Melanchthon writes to Luther: "Zwingli has sent hither his Confession in print. You would say the man is simply beside himself."[24]

1531.—Luther: "I have learned that when the Confession of ours was read the opposite part were greatly amazed, and confessed

[17] Coelestin., II. 206. Buddeus, 128. Walch, XVI. 1083, No. 985.

[18] Corp. Reform., II. 164, No. 760.

[19] Coelestin., II. 206. Buddeus, 139. De Wette, IV. 69. Walch, XVI. 1048, Conserv. Ref., 234.

[20] Coelestin., II. 207. Buddeus, 141. Walch, XVI. 1083. Conserv. Reformat., 235.

[21] Conserv. Reformat., 235, and references.

[22] Conserv. Ref., 235, and references.

[23] Cons. Ref., 236, and references.

[24] Coelestin., II. 288 b. Consil. Latin. (Pezel), I. 115. Walch, XVI. 1202. Corp. Ref., II. 193, No. 781.

that it was the pure truth; that it could not be confuted with Scripture."[25]

1534.—Luther writes to the City Council of Ratisbon: "Be diligent in obtaining preachers who shall teach the Gospel or Holy Scripture. . . . . So shall they not err, and God will add His grace. Our Confession at Augsburg is good thereto, and so pure that even our enemies were compelled to praise it; and His Imperial Majesty referred it uncondemned to a Council, which is a token that it is right."[26]

1555.—Erhard Schnepf (1495–1558), the devoted friend of Luther, the court preacher of Philip of Hesse, and his attendant at the Diet, was present at all the most important consultations which preceded the delivery of the Confession, and was associated with Melanchthon and Brentius as one of the special Counselors in the consultations which followed it. In his Confession concerning the Eucharist,[27] he says: "It is well known to all who were present, in the year of our Lord 1530, at that deliberation in Augsburg, at which the Confession, recently written, was, in advance of its being that it offered to Charles V., Roman Emperor, submitted to the judgment of the theologians of the Princes, of those also who were Counselors of our Princes, and to the Legates of the two cities, for which reason it was determined to employ only the adverb *vere* (truly), though it was ambiguous, as many employed it in the discussions of that time; since not one of those who united in the Augsburg Confession and were admitted into this Congress of deliberators thought with the Zwinglians. I also was present, and was a certain part of what was done, though for no merit of mine. This I mention, lest any one should imagine that I speak from mere hearsay, and should on that account endeavor to detract from the weight of my testimony."

This testimony is of great importance. It comes from a man of the highest character, who was participant in all he describes. He makes an appeal to the fact that what he asserts was well known to all who were present—an appeal made while many of them were still living.

[25] Warnung an seine lieben Deutschen. Werke: Jena, v. 290 [273]. Leipzig xx. 298. Walch, xvi. 1960. Erlangen, xxv. 17. Chytraeus, 266 [532].

[26] De Wette, iv. 547, No. 1592. Erlangen, 55, 57, No. 475.

[27] Confessio de Eucharistia: Jena, 1555. 1556, 8 vo.

He speaks of the document as recently written, and identifies it with the Confession offered to the Emperor. He tells clearly to whom it was submitted; by whom it was discussed, and its language settled. These were 1. The theologians of the Princes; 2. The Counselors of the Princes; 3. The Legates of the two cities. This itself demonstrates that the "Congress of deliberators" was subsequent to May 22 The single fact that Schnepf was present at it, proves that it refers to nothing previous to May 11, for Schnepf did not come till May 12. 4. Schnepf shows that the discussion sometimes descended to the minutia of a single term, and that this discussion was determinative. He says that "vere," in spite of the objection that some persons gave it an ambiguous turn, was retained, because the Congress of deliberators preferred it. 5. The period alluded to by Schnepf has always rightly been identified with that of which Melanchthon speaks in 1560; the accord on every topic on which they speak in common is perfect, and the time is fixed as later than May 22.[28]

1556.—In Melanchthon's letter to Flacius Illyricus (Sept. 5th) he says: "You reprove me for writing the Repetitio of the (Augsburg) Confession (1551). I wrote the former also (the Augsburg Confession), when I had many to reprove me, none to aid me."[29]

1557.—The Elector's letter of May 11, 1530, and Luther's letter of May 15, appear in the Wittenberg Edition of Luther's German Works. This edition began to be issued in 1539, and the first volume and part of the second, were revised by Luther, whose death prevented his supervision of the whole. The ninth volume appeared in 1557, edited by Melanchthon, and with his dedication to Otto Heinrich, and it is this volume which contains the two letters.[30]

The Elector's letter is so plainly in his own name alone, and not in that of any part whatever of the signing Princes and cities, and Luther's reply is so purely and absolutely to the Elector alone, with

[28] Gründlich. Historia., 1584. Ger., 109. Lat., 135. Cyprian.: Histor., 56. [66]. Walch: Introd., 169, transl. by C. P. Krauth, Ev. Rev., Oct., 1849, 250. Köllner, 180, 42. Francke: L. S., XVIII. 16. J. T. Müller: Einl., LXII. Zöckler, 220. Schirrmacher: Briefe u. Acten 43, 467.

[29] Consil. Latin, II. 253. Corp. Ref., VIII. 843, No. 6067. See Acta Colloq. Aldeburg, 438, Acta und Handlung, 340.

[30] Witth., IX. 406. See Luther's Werke: Walch: XXIV. 621. Erlangen, 54, 145. Briefe: De Wette, IV. 17.

the expression of his regarding it as completely in Melanchthon's hands, that Melanchthon's language of 1560 could not refer to these letters.

ii. Luther's Works are published at Jena, in German. In these[31] also appear the Elector's letter to Luther, May 11, and Luther's reply, May 15, 1530. If Melanchthon had had reference to this correspondence in his words of 1560, it is inconceivable that he should not have referred to it as entirely conclusive. The solemn appeal to those yet living, implies that what he speaks of was not generally known, and that some might be inclined to challenge it. If the communication of the Princes had been the Elector's letter of May 11, and Luther's approval that of May 15, this would have been impossible.

XI. CHRONOLOGY OF THE TESTIMONY IN REGARD TO THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION FROM 1558 TO THE DEATH OF MELANCHTHON, APRIL 19, 1560.

1559–1560.—Melanchthon's Last Testimonies. Melanchthon wrote, September 29, 1559, the Preface to the German Corpus Doctrinæ, in which he gives an account of the origin, aims, progress, completion, and presentation of the Augsburg Confession.[1] Nearly five months later, in his Preface to the Latin Corpus Doctrinæ, and to his Complete Works he prepared a similar account. It was written February 16, 1560, on his sixty-fourth birthday, with the presentiment of approaching death strong upon him. Two months after (April 19, 1560,) he died. It is his final statement; the fullest and most carefully prepared history of the Confession which ever came from his pen. It is not a translation of the German Preface of 1559, but a longer document, covering the same general ground, with many points of parallelism, but with distinctive features showing a careful retrospect and revision, and a solicitude to mark with precision especially the succession of events. He meant it for his age, and for posterity.[2] We

[31] Fifth part, p. 27; See Luther's Werke: Erlangen, 54, 145. Briefe; De Wette, IV. 17.

[1] Corpus Doctrinæ Christianæ, Das ist, Gantze Summa., Leipzig, 1560, Folio. Corpus Reformat., IX., No. 6830.

[2] Corpus Doctrinæ Christianae: Quae est Summa., Lipsiæ, fol., 1560, 1563. Operum Omnium, P. Melanchthon, Wittenbergæ, Part I., fol., 1560, 1601. Corp Reformatorum, IX., No. 6932. Pezelius: Consilia, I. 667, II. 390.

will give a translation of the parts of Melanchthon's history which bear upon the questions under discussion, incorporating in brackets the parallel matter from the German: "Nor was the Emperor Charles, at the beginning, willing, without the judgment of a Synod [it had been at that time the earnest and final purpose of Charles V. to have a General Council convened in conformity with due order], and without a judicial examination, to blot out Luther's doctrine and our churches, though there were many who urged on him that Herodian policy. But when he saw that there were many open abuses, as, with a soft phrase, some characterized certain dark forms of idolatry, he long and constantly demanded that a Synod should be summoned. As this was his will on his return to Germany, 1530, he called the Princes to Augsburg [these, the Elector and Princes and cities], that a Confession should there be presented. Of this a narrative ought to be given, inasmuch as it is necessary that posterity should know that our Confession was neither written of individual purpose, nor thrust upon the Emperor not demanding it [this Confession which was delivered to the Emperor in the Diet, 1530]. But either some Confession had to be presented, or it would have to be shown by dissembling, that the doctrine which had already been received, had been abandoned, and there were also some at that time who wished to avoid the perils of Confession. But others, *the Princes and Officials* (Gubernatores), *whose names follow the Confession* [the Elector and Princes and cities], believed that the Confession should be offered as evidence that they had not acted in levity, or impelled by any unlawful desire, but that for the glory of God and the salvation of their own souls, and the souls of many, they had embraced the purer doctrine. I brought together, therefore, in singleness of purpose the principal points of the Confession, which is extant, embracing pretty nearly the sum of the doctrine of our Churches [this Confession, as God had ordained and given it, was drawn together by me]. I assumed nothing to myself, for in the presence of the Princes and Officials [the Elector, and Princes and Legates, who subscribed it] and of the preachers [with their Counselors and preachers who were there], it was discussed and determined upon [diligently pondered], in regular course, sentence by sentence [all the Articles]. The complete form of the Confession was subsequently sent to Luther, who wrote to the Princes that he had both read this Confession and approved it. That these things

are so, the Princes, and other honest and learned men yet living, will remember [gracious Princes and Counts, and other honorable men, who by God's grace are yet living, can testify]. After this, before the Emperor Charles, in a great assembly of the Princes, this Confession was read."

Character and Value of Melanchthon's Testimony of 1560. It is hardly possible to overestimate the Value of Melanchthon's testimony, as thus given in 1560. It comes from the Composer of the Confession, who beyond any man and all men was competent to give a clear testimony—a man careful in the minutest detail, weighing and reweighing every word. It was given a little before his death, when he was strongly under a presentiment that his life was near its close. He declares that it is a statement meant for posterity.[3] He writes it with the solemnity and solicitude of one who makes a last will and testament. He appeals to those yet living, of that memorable company of Confessors who met at Augsburg. It was a testimony which would be scanned by friend and foe; would be sure to be challenged if there were anything doubtful in it. But it was never challenged. Not only is there the negative evidence that no such challenge can be found, but there is the positive evidence that from the beginning onward it was accepted as indisputable authority of the highest order by all parties. The Crypto-Calvinists and Unionists, against some of whose pretences it is so decisive, garbled it, but never disputed its accuracy. It may be worth while, however, to prove more particularly that its historic reliability and value have been noticed from the beginning, and that it has been quoted unchallenged in a solitary respect by writers of the most opposite schools for ages.

i. It is quoted by the Saxon theologians in the Altenburg Colloquy March 5, 1569;[4] by the theologians of Leipzig and Wittenberg;[5] Zacharias Ursinus (Ref.), 1581;[6] Kirchner, Selneccer, and Chem-

[3] Quod eo narrandum est, quia necesse est *posteritatem* scire Confessionem nostram nec privato consilio scriptam esse.

[4] Acta Colloquii, Lipsiae, 1570, p. 437. Acta und Handlung, Wittenberg, 1570, p. 339.

[5] Endlicher Bericht, Wittemberg, 1571, p. 12.

[6] De Libro Concordiæ Admonitio; Neustadii, 1581, 143, 144.

nitz, 1584;[7] Pezelius, 1600;[8] Hospinian (Reformed), 1602;[9] Hutter, 1602;[10] Grawer, 1626;[11] John Müller, 1630;[12] Carpzov, 1665;[13] Godofred Hoffmann, 1727;[14] Salig, 1730;[15] The Historical Religious Dialogue, 1730;[16] Walch, 1732;[17] Boerner, 1751:[18] Ernesti, 1752, 1777;[19] Danz, 1829;[20] Rotermund, 1829;[21] Köllner, 1837;[22] Friederic Francke, 1847;[23] Plitt, 1867;[24] and by many others.

ii. It is constantly quoted in preference to the statement of 1559, as later, ampler, and clearer. When Melanchthon's testimony is given in German works, instead of taking even his own statement in his German of 1559, the Latin of 1560 is either retained or translated, as by the Saxon Theologians, 1569;[25] the theologians of Leipzig and Wittenberg, 1571;[26] Kirchner, Selneccer, and Chemnitz, 1584;[27] John Müller, 1630; Salig, 1730; and others.

iii. The authorities which quote Melanchthon's words of 1560 are clear as to the *identity* of that of which he speaks, with the Confession as delivered and published: "The entire Confession as it is now in the hands of every one;" "the entire Confession as it became shaped;"[28] "the one common Confession, which was presented in the name of all our Churches to the Emperor;"[29] "the Confession which was given (to the Emperor)."[30]

iv. These authorities all have the same view as to precisely *what* came into discussion: "All and every one of the Articles;"[31] "Article by Article;"[32] "each of the heads;"[33] "the doctrine of every Article;"[34] "Article after Article—all the Articles;"[35] "all its heads."[36]

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[7] Gründliche Historia, Leipzig, 1584, fol. 109. Solida ac Vera, C. A. Historia, transl. per Godfried, Lipsiæ, 1585, 4 to., 135, 136.

[8] Consilia Melanchthonis, 390-395.

[9] Historia Sacramentar., 147, 148.

[10] August. Confess., 7, 9, 10.

[11] Praelect. in A. C., 117.

[12] Augsb. Confess., 121.

[13] Isagoge, 104, 105.

[14] Commentar. in A. C., 10.

[15] Historie d. A. C., I. 168.

[16] Histor. Relig. Gespräche aus Sleidan, etc., 20, 32.

[17] Introd., 169.

[18] Institutiones, 32.

[19] Praelectiones, 45.

[20] Augsb. Confess., 5, 6, 9, 12.

[21] Geschichte, 50.

[22] Symbolik, 180, 41.

[23] Lib. Symb., XVIII. 16.

[24] Einl. in die Augustana, I. 554.

[25] German Acta, 339.

[26] Bericht, 12.

[27] Gründ. Hist., 109.

[28] Saxon Theologians, 339, b.

[29] Grawer, 216.

[30] Joh. Müller, 123.

[31] Saxon Theologians, 339, b.

[32] Kirchner, etc. 109.

[33] Grawer, 117.

[34] Joh. Müller, 121.

[35] Salig, 168.

[36] Walch. Int., 169.

v. The authorities are agreed as to the *character* and *results* of the discussion. "There was a discussion of the Articles, all and each, in order, and as necessity required, and the opinion of every one had a hearing."[37] "The whole Confession, from Article to Article, especially the tenth article, which treats of the Lord's Supper, was subjected to the judgment (Urteil), review (Censuren), and consideration of the Princes and Estates, and of their Theologians and Counselors," "to be judged of;"[38] "in order, an examination being instituted, they diligently deliberated and discussed concerning each point;"[39] "revised, decided upon, and approved;"[40] "sufficiently pondered," "well-weighed, and deliberated on through all the Articles;"[41] "by all the Lutheran theologians there assembled this Confession was composed;"[42] "it was unanimously approved before it was confirmed by the subscription of the Princes and the cities;"[43] "they considered the Confession in the most thorough manner;"[44] "after thorough deliberation, on the part of the Evangelical Theologians present, concerning each of the Articles, Melanchthon, in accordance with the common decision, finished the Confession;"[45] "not only submitted to the judgment of the other Theologians, but in the Council of the Orders who were to subscribe it, carefully considered and confirmed by the unanimous consent of all—all its heads were pondered and confirmed. . . . Recognized and approved by the suffrage of all, it was again transmitted to Luther;"[46] "the separate Articles were publicly submitted by Melanchthon to the representatives of the Evangelical party, and not only by the other theologians, but also by the Civil Counselors—nay, by the Princes themselves, were every time most thoroughly discussed and considered, and only after the most thorough consideration were determined."[47]

vi. They are agreed as to the *presence* in which the discussion took place: "In the presence of the Princes, their Counselors and

[37] Acta u. Handl., Altenb., 1570, 339, b.

[38] Gründl. Historia, 1585; Germ.: 109; Lat.: 135.

[39] Grawer, 117. [40] Mentzer, 10. [41] John Müller, 1630, p. 121, 123.

[42] Carpzov, 104. [43] Calovius: Exegema. ch. II., sec. 3. [44] Cyprian, 56.

[45] Boerner, 32.

[46] Walch.: Introduct., 168, 169. Ev. Rev., Oct., 1849, 250, 251.

[47] Köllner: Symbolik, 178, 180, 41, 42. "Nur nach der genauesten Erwägung fest-gestellt."

preachers;"[48] "the Elector, the Princes and Estates, whose names are found attached to the Confession;"[49] "the associated Princes and Estates—the Princes and other magistracy—and their theologians and Counselors;"[50] "in the presence of the Princes and of the Legates of the cities; and the other theologians (beside Philip), who were assembled at the Diet of Augsburg, labored not a little in completing the Augsburg Confession;" "the Princes by whose command and wish the Augsburg Confession was written, and who presented it to the Emperor;"[51] "all the Evangelical Princes and Estates, their theologians and Counselors—the Princes and other magistracy—seven princes, two cities—the Elector of Saxony and those associated with him;" "the Evangelical Church in Saxony, Brandenburg, Lüneburg, Hesse, Anhalt, Nürnberg, Reutlingen;"[52] "the entire Protestant Estates;"[53] "not only in the presence of the other theologians whom the Princes and the Legates of those who were absent had brought with them, but in the assembly also of the orders who subscribed it."[54]

vii. Wherever these authorities have occasion to represent the *names* of those who were present, as involved in Melanchthon's statements, they mention the names of some who were not present until after May 11, and of others not present until after May 22: "Schnepf, Brentius, and many other theologians, who were present at the Diet on our side;"[55] "Schnepf, Brentius, Andrew Osiander, John Agricola, and others."[56]

viii. They are all agreed as to *when* in general this sending to Luther of which Melanchthon here speaks took place. It was *after* these discussions: "In such manner also the entire Confession, as it became shaped" (in the presence of the Princes, and their Counselors and preachers) "was sent to Luther;"[57] "when now this same writing of the Confession had been prepared, they, the Princes, sent it to Luther;"[58] "the other (Lutheran) churches drew up their confessions and brought them with them to Augsburg; lest, there-

[48] Saxon Theolog., 339, b.

[49] Theologians of Leipzig and Wittenberg, 11, b.

[50] Kirchner, etc. 109.

[51] Crawer, 117.

[52] Joh. Müller, 121–123.

[53] Salig, 168.

[54] Walch, Int., 168, 169; translated by C. P. Krauth, Ev. Rev., Oct., 1849, 250.

[55] Crawer, 116. Carpzov, 104.

[56] Walch, Int., 169.

[57] Saxon Theolog., 339, b.

[58] Wittenb. and Leipz. Theol., 12, b.

fore, these Confessions should be neglected, by command of the Protestant Princes, a comparision was instituted between them, and finally, after deliberation and accurate examination, one common Confession was drawn up. Subsequently (*deinde*), after (*postquam*) the common Confession was drawn up from the private confessions, it was not presented without Luther's judgment and approval, but was first sent to Luther to be judged and examined. . . All the rest of the theologians, there assembled at Augsburg, were unwilling, without Luther's judgment, to present the Augsburg Confession."[59] After citing the letter of May 11 and May 22,[60] Walch goes on to say: "Melanchthon had before him not only the XVII Articles, but other outlines of the chief points of the Evangelical doctrine. For, in addition to the Elector of Saxony, the other Evangelical Princes and Orders had caused formulas of confession to be written by their theologians, which, by their permission, were consigned to Melanchthon, that after a careful perusal of them he might finish the Confession to be presented to the Diet."[61] "Before this Confession was presented, it was communicated to the other theologians whom the Princes and the Legates of those who were absent had brought with them. . . . In the assembly also of the Orders who subscribed it, all its heads were pondered and confirmed; which being done, it was again sent to Luther before it was read in public;" or, as Walch still more amply adds in the next page: "Thus recognized and approved by the suffrages of all, the Confession was again transmitted to Luther, that if anything yet remained which he desired to advise he might now suggest it."[62] Köllner, quoting the words of 1560, including the "Missa est deinde et Luthero," adds: "What Melanchthon says above holds good only, as shown in the development we have given, of *that* time, when the Estates demanded the completion and delivery of the Confession in the name of them all, in a *Common* Symbol, consequently about the 8th of June."[63] Francke, after mentioning the copy of May 11, approved by Luther May 15,[64] says that it was again amended by Melanchthon and others, especially by Pontanus,

[59] Grawer, 116.
[60] Introd., 167.
[61] Do., 167, 168, sec. v.
[62] Do., 168, 169, sec. vi., C. P. K.'s transl., Ev. Rev., Oct., 1849.
[63] Symbolik, 180, 41.
[64] L. S., xvi. 9.

May 22–24,[65] and that it is certain that the Latin formula was delivered to the Legates of the cities and the other Protestant Orders, May 31;[66] George of Brandenburg makes the distinct movement toward uniting all the Orders in the Confession, June 8;[67] the German Formula is submitted June 14,[68] and after this comes the discussion mentioned by Melanchthon,[69] with the express inference from the "deinde" that it "was sent again, as it seems."[70]

ix. All the writers identify the discussions of which Schnepf speaks (1555), with those of which Melanchthon speaks (1560).[71]

x. But great as was the value attached to the last testimony of Melanchthon, and constant as was the use made of it, its historic importance was not fully estimated in every case, nor the inferences involved in it completely drawn, because the chronology was entirely overlooked in some cases, and in others was misunderstood. The materials of the chronology were indeed imperfect till the Reports of the Nürnberg Legates brought them to light. We may claim to have helped to put this important testimony in its proper historic light, by a more full and rigid application of the facts of the chronology to it than had hitherto been made. We have thus confirmed the results of the labors of Walch, Köllner and others of the very greatest writers on the Confession, by showing that Melanchthon's words of 1560 refer to a sending of the Confession to Luther in June, before its delivery. There was a third sending.

XII. TO-DAY.

1. THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION AND THE "FREE DIET."

The first essay read in the Free Diet began with the words: "The Augsburg Confession is the doctrinal Magna Charta of all Protestant dom." With this sentence Dr. John G. Morris opened his essay on the "Augsburg Confession and the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England." It was an omen of the distinguished place the Augsburg Confession was destined to take in the essays and deliberations of the Diet. In some shape the Confession came up at almost every point. Some doctrine, or some fact, in which it was

[65] Do., XVI. 10.
[66] Do., XVII. 11.
[67] Do., XVII. 12.
[68] Do., XVII. 13.
[69] Do., XVIII. 15.
[70] Do., XVIII. 16.
[71] See the citations under i.

involved, seemed implicated with nearly every topic that was touched. Whatever the centrifugal force might be at the beginning of a discussion, everything seemed to drop into the Augsburg Confession, especially into its controverted parts, before the discussion closed.

II. THE POINT ACTUALLY MADE BY DR. CONRAD AND CHALLENGED BY DR. BROWN, IN THE DIET.

In Dr. Conrad's Essay, as read before the Diet, he maintained only *two* sendings of the Confession previous to its delivery, the third sending being the undisputed one, after the delivery. It was, therefore, the second sending, May 22d, which was challenged by Dr. Brown. Dr. Conrad made no reference to the date "June 2d" —Dr. Brown's challenge, therefore, as regards Dr. Conrad, involved him in the assertion that there was but one sending before the delivery, that of May 11. The "*third*" sending of Dr. Conrad's position in the Diet, was the one *after* June 25th.[1]

III. THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION AFTER THE DIET.

The discussion of the Augsburg Confession did not close with the discussions of the Diet. Dr. Conrad revised, and in a large measure rewrote his essay on the Characteristics of the Confession. Dr. Brown made a new issue, and substituted it in the minutes of the Diet for the original one. We added a note in vindication of what we supposed to be the point challenged, and repudiating the date on which Dr. Brown laid so much stress, not imagining that Dr. Brown would falsify in direct terms his own record on a distinct matter of fact. We supposed (very incorrectly, as we afterwards discovered,) that we had failed to notice at the time an allusion to the date. We know now that the statement of a challenge on the date is a pure fiction. What had tempted Dr. Brown became manifest in the Lutheran Quarterly of April, in which, in very cold blood, he repeats the offence of misrepresentation, in "A Question Touching the Augsburg Confession." *The Lutheran*, April 25, in "A Slight Question in Reformation History," takes ground against Dr. Brown, and with us, in the assertion of a second sending; and

[1] "What we stated," says Dr. Conrad, in a note to us, "and what Dr. Brown challenged at the Diet, was this: 'It (the Confession) was submitted to him (Luther) in its first completed draft, in its second improved form, as well as immediately after its delivery, and received his unqualified approval.'"

takes ground with Dr. Brown, and against us, in our assertion of a third sending.

IV. "A QUESTION TOUCHING THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION."

The "Question touching the Augsburg Confession," with which Dr. Brown opens the April number of his Quarterly, has some characteristics which might fairly raise a question touching Dr. Brown himself. He gives an editorial explanation on the second page of his cover, which shows that he might more profitably have considered the question of the moral honor of a man, who having "occasion," in strict confidence to see a proof of a forthcoming book, avails himself of it to write something which is to appear as if it were the review of the book written after its publication. In the Providence which loves to thwart guilty cunning, the scheme was exposed. The review of Dr. Brown appeared before the book it pretended to review. When the book, already printed though not published when Dr. Brown's article appeared, came out, all who opened it found that in the very assumption about its contents, of which Dr. Brown had made most in his article, his statement about us was untruthful, and that we repudiated the date which it was essential to his theory to have us maintain. The erratum, June 3d for July 3d, was made in our article in the *Lutheran*, 1867. The article itself was reprinted and the error crept in with it, in our Introduction to the Augsburg Confession and into the Conservative Reformation.[2] The vouchers we give for the citation show any one who verifies them the right date: the quotation is repeated[3] with the correct date, and the same vouchers are used, with the addition of Coelestinus. If Dr. Brown, who is so compassionate to "any one who is not very careful," had taken a little notice, he would have seen that all the citations from p. 232 to 237 in the Conservative Reformation are chronologically arranged, and that the date must have been written July 3d. He would have seen in the three lines which precede it, that our inference and our theory are "that between June 8th and 25th, we have Melanchthon's declaration, cited in our former extracts, as to Luther's approval of the Confession in the form it took after the discussion." If he thinks us wicked enough to alter a date, as he pretends he does, and fools enough to add to the altered date the vouchers which at once stamp it as a forgery,

[2] P. 234.

[3] Conserv. Reformat., p. 239, three lines from the bottom of the text.

he will yet hardly be able to imagine that we would falsify the date in such a way as to confute the very theory for which it was altered, and that just under a repetition of our theory, we would put a falsified date which would overthrow it. When Dr. Conrad was misled by it, he was compelled to form another theory, utterly out of harmony with our conclusions and our argument. He did not look at our citation in its connection, and did not have Buddeus, or De Wette's edition of Luther's letters, and so was misled. Dr. Conrad had verified our vouchers when he possessed the books to which we refer, and the honest care with which he found they were made, helped him to be less on his guard against that unsuspected rock, a typographical erratum. No wonder that, to create a fictitious importance for the small business which he has undertaken, Dr. Brown prints in small caps, "AS THEY PRETEND," talks of "ludicrous error," "pet theory," "fictitious date," inconsistently swinging apparently between the theories that we are cunning impostors and helpless ignoramuses, brazen forgers, and idiotical dupes.

Dr. Brown writes habitually in a vein which excludes him from all right to courtesy. Years ago we discovered that to an obstinacy which declined to learn and an ignorance which made him incapable of teaching, he added a dishonesty in citation and a coarseness of imputation which deprived him of all right to notice; and we ceased to notice him. We hoped that the Diet would mark the beginning of a new era with him; but his review shows that he is beyond change. If he thought that the crime of being a member of an ecclesiastical body, which he helped to drive from the one of which he is a special incubus, absolved him from the duty of decency to ourselves, he might at least have treated with the ordinary courtesy which one who claims to be a gentleman extends to another, Dr. Conrad, who has long been one of the greatest powers in the General Synod, and who has done as much to build up the Seminary which feeds Dr. Brown as Dr. Brown has done to pull it down. We will give Dr. Brown the benefit of our largest charity. We will try to believe that his malignity to us is such that he may really imagine he is sincere in the theory of our baseness; but when he pretends that he thinks Dr. Conrad a conspirator with us, knowingly altering a date and thus trying to make a lie plausible, he deliberately writes what he knows to be untrue.

Dr. Brown as a Translator.—Dr. Brown's bitterest enemy

must allow that he has tenacity of purpose. He has such strength of will that, if it were properly guided and maintained by a knowledge of the subjects on which he writes, he might attain a reputation of his own, instead of spending his life in trying to destroy the reputation of others. From his attack on Dr. Schmucker to the present, his main work has been of one kind. He has produced no apothecaries' ointment of his own, but has been putting dead flies into the ointment of others. His tenacity has accomplished little, because it is his fixed determination to show strength where he has no strength to show. A good strategist will throw his strength against the weakness of the foe. Dr. Brown's strategy is characteristically a throwing of his weakness against the strength of the foe. He has endeavored to confute specialists in their department, from the stores of his general knowledge. Dogmaticians he takes up in dogmatics, metaphysicians in metaphysics; and the fact that Melanchthon is generally conceded to have known something about the Augsburg Confession will diminish the surprise of those who know Dr. Brown, that he has written an article which purposes to rectify Melanchthon's statements in regard to that document. He has particularly seemed ambitious to shine as a translator—not by translating indeed, but by examining the errors of others in translating—and what a master he has shown himself! His rendering "begiessen" to "immerse" showed his unrivaled familiarity with German; his translating "Exhibeantur," in the Tenth Article of the Variata, by "represented"[1] shows how deeply he has entered into theological Latin. Dr. Brown does not seem to know that besides the dictionary, to understand a language, the translator needs a sufficient previous knowledge to understand the dictionary.

In that important passage in Melanchthon's last testimony in regard to the Augsburg Confession, which we have already enlarged upon, Dr. Brown finds a number of faults in our translation. Had Dr. Brown really pointed out errors in our translation, we should have been grateful to him; and even if it had been done in the ungracious way in which he does everything, the value of the service would have been a compensation for the unpleasantness of the manner. "*Fas est.*" Nor would we feel a morbid excess of humiliation at the detection of the class of errors to which we are sure our shortcomings are confined—the errors of limited knowl-

[1] Bibliotheca Sacra., July, 1868, p. 485.

edge and of unconscious oversight. We have carefully and conscientiously endeavored in every case to give the true sense of what we have translated. We have fallen into the errors of the translator, but we know that we have not been guilty of his deliberate sins. As the result of no inconsiderable amount of experience in translation, we feel with increased force how easy it is to make mistakes even in very simple things. Mental preoccupation, temporary languor from overstrained attention, or loss of rest, defect of sight, unnoted differences in words closely alike or even identical in form, and other causes of a similar nature, account for the familiar fact that great scholars have made mistakes of which they were heartily ashamed, mistakes which an intelligent schoolboy, put upon his guard, could not make, and with his attention quickened, would at once detect. A book could be made of the mistakes in grammar into which great grammarians have fallen, of ignorance of the meaning of words on the part of great lexicographers, of the special mistakes of all sorts of specialists. And if this be true of great, exhaustive scholarship, it does not require much humility to acknowledge general fallibility, and particular mistakes in the attempts at translation which have come out of a crowded life of active toil and constant care. We would prefer that those who have done something themselves should give us light, but we are willing to take it from any one, even an enemy. We decline Dr. Brown's teaching, not that we do not need to be taught, nor because we would be unwilling that he should teach us, but because he is incapable of teaching because he is unwilling to learn. We take nothing from him, simply because he has nothing to give.

Of our conscientious care and general success in the unbroken paths in which we have walked and worked unaided, we have not only the direct testimony of men whose opinions ought to have weight, but we have strong testimony in the very nature of the attacks made upon us. If all these attacks were successful to the very fullest measure of their purpose, they would leave the body of our work untouched. They unsettle nothing we have tried to settle, and in attacking little they acknowledge much. Dr. Brown would find a sympathetic co-worker in an anonymous, scurrilous Romish writer, who, showing in the animus of his attack that he would gladly do us the greatest amount of damage possible, points out mistakes in a single sentence of our reproduction of that very tangled

piece of composition, Chancellor Brück's Preface to the Augsburg Confession! The mistakes were the results of inadvertence, not of ignorance; it required no learning to detect them; we had noted and requested the correction of them totally apart from the Romish Review. The critic, in the effort to correct, makes at least one blunder more palpable than any he points out. But waiving all that, the assailant is witness for us. In making so much of the discovery of this little, he hardly seems to realize how much he concedes in finding no more. The venom of the serpent is too much for his cunning.

In assailing our translation, Dr. Brown has seen fit to drag Dr. Jacobs in, partly for the crime of endorsing our accuracy, but still more for the crime of having a distinguished reputation as a Latin scholar. This makes it essential to Dr. Brown's happiness that he shall prove that he can teach Prof. Jacobs Latin; for Dr. Brown seems to be pervaded with the conviction that no man can hold a high place in anything without stealing it from him. He claims all the parts, from the lover to the lion. Hence, with indomitable self-reliance and ardor, armed only with a school dictionary and a Quackenbos, he goes forth in deadly resolve against those who, without knowing it or meaning it, are invading his universal kingdom. Dr. Jacobs's masterly reply to Dr. Brown on the questions of Latinity involved, makes it unnecessary for us to do more than barely touch on them, so far as to give internal completeness to our notice.

1. "*De Singulis Sententiis.*"

"It is by no means *certain* that 'de singulis sententiis' means 'sentence by sentence.'" In saying that it is by no means certain, Dr. Brown admits that it is possible, if not probable. He confesses that he does not know what it means. "It *may* mean, and *probably* does mean, concerning each opinion, *or* subject, *or* point." That is Dr. Brown's common mode of avoiding responsibility, and his quiet little way of saying that Melanchthon did not know how to write Latin; for of course the difficulty is not in Dr. Brown's ignorance—it must therefore be in Melanchthon's Latin. Yet, perhaps, in spite of Dr. Brown's perplexity, we may reach some sense in it. If *each* opinion, *or* subject, *or* point had to be discussed, would not a taking up sentence by sentence be implied, even if it were not expressed?

The rendering we gave, as in accordance with the relation of the phrase, the pure Latinity of Melanchthon, supported by the formula of Cicero, is sustained in its philological aspect by Dr. Jacobs, and in its historical probability in our discussion of Melanchthon's own words, under 1559, 1560.

2. "*Disputatum est.*"

2. Dr. Brown's next point is on the "disputatum est," and here Dr. Brown makes himself ridiculous, by parading, with school-boy pedantry, the familiar piece of grammar, that the "verb is impersonal," "there was discussion;" *i. e.*, as we understand Dr. Brown, "there was discussion in order on each opinion or point" of the Confession; but we must not say that it (the Confession) was discussed. Dr. Brown's idea of translation, as embodied in this sage critique, seems to be derived from the interlinear for lazy dunces, which gives them word for word, without reference to idiom, not thought for thought. When to this theory we have conjoined ignorance of the words, we have Dr. Brown's ideal, as exemplified in his practice.

3. "*Determined upon.*"

3. Dr. Brown is at a loss to conjecture "*where* this 'and determined upon' comes *from*," probably meaning by "where—from," what writers of English usually express by the word "whence." It is involved in the "disputatum est," in the position which Melanchthon gives it in his argument. Mere discussion, without determination, would not prove or involve the point he is making, which is that the Confession was so discussed, that the princes and other officials who signed it were responsible for it. They weighed it, in order to determine whether it would pass. The "disputatum est" covers therefore a decisive and determinative discussion, as it often does in Latin usage.

4. "*Tota forma.*"

4. Dr. Brown next objects to the translation of "tota forma." Dr. Brown insists that "tota" does not mean "complete;" "it refers to *entirety*." It does not mean "finished," it refers to "totality," "*tota* expresses the whole." We say it was complete; Dr. Brown says it was not complete, it was only entire. We say it was "finished;" Dr. Brown says it was not finished, it was only total, the whole of it was there.

Now, words are used relatively as well as absolutely, and the precise force they bear relatively is determined by the whole context, and the nature of that to which they are opposed. If "finished" means absolutely closed against all change, the Augsburg Confession, *as we now have it*, was not only not "finished" May 11, but was not finished when the presentation was made June 25th; for there are differences in stylistic minutenesses between the Confession as delivered, and the Editio Princeps of Melanchthon. *Tota* is determined as to its particular force by that to which it is antithetical. If I say it was unfinished yesterday, it is whole to-day, the whole implies that it is finished.

THE QUESTIONS OF CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY.

1. *The Suite of the Elector.*

The vital point in Dr. Brown's argument, the only one which looks as if it would have weight if established, is "that the suite of the Elector included a *majority* of the Princes who actually signed the Confession." Not satisfied with this, but feeling secure in his point, he waxes sarcastic, insinuates that we had something to gain, so important that it led us to suppress a truth: "The '*suite*' of the Elector, mentioned with this indifferent air, and shut up in a parenthesis, actually *contained a majority of the Princes who signed the Confession.*" The Italics are his own.

Now if this were literally true, it would avail Dr. Brown nothing, for Melanchthon distinctly asserts that those of whom he speaks are "*the Princes and officials whose names are attached to the Confession*,"[5] or as it is in the German, "the Elector, and Princes and cities,"[6] and again, "the Elector, and Princes, and Legates who subscribed this Confession."[7] What Dr. Brown has to prove is not that a *majority* of the Princes who signed, were at Augsburg before May 11th, but that the whole body of the Princes and the cities who signed were there. He is not lacking in audacity, but he has not attempted this. The Princes who formed the Elector's suite were, first, John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, the oldest son of the

[5] "Principes et gubernatores, quorum nomina ascripta sunt Confessioni." Corpus Doctrinæ, 1562. Præfa. a. 2.

[6] Chur unnd Fürsten und Stedt: Corpus D. C. Das ist Ganze Summa. Vorrede, p. 1.

[7] Den Chur unnd Fürsten, unnd Bottschafften, welche sich unterschrieben haben." Do. do., p. 2.

Elector, and not until his father's death (1532) at the head of the government. The second in the suite was Francis, Duke of Luneberg, a youth of twenty-two, the brother of Duke Ernest, and not at the head of a government. The third was Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt. These three names were those of least political weight. They came last in the signatures of the Princes, to the Latin Confession in the Book of Concord; in the German, in the Book of Concord, the names of John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, and Francis, Duke of Luneberg, are not found at all. There is a mass of evidence and authority tending to establish the fact that to the Confession as read in the Diet, the names of John Frederick and Francis were not attached.[8] It is beyond dispute that they were late in signing, and that their names are placed after those of the great reigning Princes. They were not rulers; they did not directly represent States (Saxony being represented by the Elector, and Luneberg by Ernest). But *one* Prince, not merely titulary, and he one of the least important politically, was present before May 12, with the Elector. But if we waive all this, and count the two titular Princes, who perhaps did not sign the German Confession, we have but *three*, and three are not enough to make a "*majority*" of six (or seven, if we count the Elector as a Prince), unless, indeed, Dr. Brown's arithmetic be as lawless as his philology. For a man who reads lessons to those "who are not very careful," this is rather loose arithmetic. Dr. Brown is clearly getting ready for a tilt at some man of renown in mathematics.

But there is another extraordinary piece of assumption in Dr. Brown's argument. When he confounds the Elector and the three minor Princes with the total body of the signers—when he asserts that three is more than the half of six, and implies that three is the whole of eight; when he makes three minor Princes, without Counselors and theologians, the total of themselves, plus the three great Princes, and the two great cities, with their Counselors and Theologians—we might think this modest man, who bemoans the obdurate Dr. Conrad's want of confidence in his "poor judgment," had reached the limits even of his amazing style of logic. But he goes beyond this. He assumes that the proof of their presence in Augsburg is enough to demonstrate that these discussions of the Confession, of which Melanchthon speaks, took place before May

[8] Köllner, 201–210. Plitt; in Herzog and Plitts, Real Encycl., I. 773.

11. He cites no evidence, for there is none. He does not allude to the evidence to the contrary, for if he knows anything about it, he knows that it is overwhelming against him. He talks of "NUMEROUS PRINCES AND NOBLEMEN" (this is the way Dr. Brown prints it) as present, as if all the Princes, small and great, Romish as well as Protestant, were embraced in Melanchthon's words, which speak only of the Princes *who signed the Confession.* If Dr. Brown will consult the old annalists, he will also find they record the number of horses, and may then, with consistent bitterness, charge us with repressing all allusion whatever to the presence at the Diet of these noble animals; for it is not more certain that the horses were excluded from Melanchthon's congress of Signers of the Confession, than that the general body of numerous Princes and noblemen, in the Elector's train, were excluded.

THE SIGNING PRINCES AND THE TIME OF THEIR ARRIVAL.

It is worthy of remark that the fact so totally fatal to the view of Dr. Brown, and so indisputably established, is not even alluded to, to wit: that a majority of the signers, (Princes and cities) and among these all the most important ones, except the Elector of Saxony, were not present in Augsburg until after May 11, previous to which, is the time of which, according to Dr. Brown, Melanchthon speaks.

May 12, came the Landgrave, Philip of Hesse, third after the Elector in signing. May 14, came Duke Ernest of Luneberg, second after the Elector. May 24, came George, Margrave of Brandenberg, first after the Elector.[9]

These were the three great ruling Princes who stood with the Elector, and whom Dr. Brown throws totally out of the account. He has the three minor Princes (one of whom certainly, and two others of whom possibly, signed the Confession) who being part of a suite, came first, because the Elector, whose movements controlled theirs, came first. He reads into Melanchthon that a "*majority*" of the Princes who signed were present; then leaving out the officials of the cities entirely, nothing is necessary to insure him victory, except to remind the reader that three *is* a majority of six not to say

[9] Ain Kurze Anzaygung, 1530, in Cyprian Beylagen, VI. 78. Strobel: Miscel. II. 22. Fikenscher, 64. Köllner, 173, 12. Plitt, in Herzog, (new ed.) I. 773.

seven. Never were a man's mathematics and his theological science in such absolute keeping.

The Preface of the Augsburg Confession speaks of those represented by it, as "the Elector and Princes, whose names are subscribed, together with those associated with them,"[10] and any discussion must have involved the question whether all these could accept the Document.

THE SIGNING OFFICIALS OF THE CITIES AND THE TIME OF THEIR COMING.

Dr. Brown has been so dazzled with his "NUMEROUS PRINCES and *noblemen*" that he has totally forgotten that Melanchthon also mentions certain "officials," "gubernatores," who in addition to the princes, signed the Confession, and who were present at the discussions (*praesentibus aliis gubernatoribus*) which preceded the sending to Luther of which we speak. That these "gubernatores" who signed were the representatives of the two cities is certain, for beside the princes, the cities alone were among the signers. The German also enumerates "Elector, princes and cities (Stedt), and again "the Elector, princes and legates (Bottschaften) who subscribed." None of these legates came till after May 11.

May 15.—Came Christopher Kress Von Kressenstein and Clemens Volkamer, the Legates of Nürnberg.

May 21.—Came Joachim Weiss, Legate of the city of Reutlingen.[11]

THE COUNSELORS PRESENT AT THE DISCUSSIONS.

Dr. Brown has also left out of account another element. Melanchthon says that the signers of the Augsburg Confession, "together with *their Counselors*" (neben iren Redten) pondered it. Now of the princes present before May 11 the *Elector alone* had counselors. All the great princes who came from May 12 to May 24 had with them their counselors: Philip,[12] Ernst,[13] George.[14]

[10] "Nos infra scripti Elector et Principes cum aliis, qui nobis conjuncti sunt:" "Wir, die unter benannter Churfürst und Fürsten, sampt unsern Verwandten:" Müller: S. B. 35, 5.

[11] Saubert, 155, 163. Rotermund, 480.

[12] Saubert, 128. Coelestinus, IV. 133, 134. [13] Do., 125. Coelestinus, IV. 132.

[14] Do., 113. Coelestinus IV. 130.

THE THEOLOGIANS PRESENT AT THE DISCUSSIONS.

But Dr. Brown, floating on his current of princes and noblemen, has forgotten even the great men of his own profession. Melanchthon tells us that in the discussions which preceded the sending of the Confession to Luther the preachers were present (*praesentibus concionatoribus*) whom the German still more closely defines as *their* preachers (ihren . . . Predicanten), the preachers of the princes and cities by whom the Confession was signed.

Among the theologians thus participant were the following:

May 12, with Philip came Erhard Schnepf and Conrad Ottinger.

May 14, with Ernest came Heinrich Bock.

May 24, with George came Adam Candid, John Rurer, and Martin Möglin.

May 27, came John Brentius, who, starting with George, had been detained three days on the route by sickness; and Brentius, next greatest after Luther and Melanchthon themselves, was among the most active and important partakers in the discussion.

MAY 22. MELANCHTHON'S LETTER

Dr. Brown declares himself "free to admit that this letter gives a better show of plausibility to a second sending of the Confession, or rather a part of it, not the *tota forma*, to Luther, than either of the other arguments. It is *a fact which is not disputed that Melanchthon did write a letter*, addressed to Luther, and that the date assigned is May 22d. In that letter he does express the wish that Luther would run over 'the Articles of Faith.' . . . He says that he is changing many things in the Confession" (Apology) "daily. Now it is admitted that *Melanchthon wrote such a letter and expressed such a desire*." But Dr. Brown tries to deprive the truth of the benefit of all this good confession on the ground that "it is a fact that there is doubt about Luther's ever *receiving* this letter written May 22d." Dr. Brown argues on this statement "that there is doubt" in such a way as to make it equivalent to there being doubt—reasonable doubt, as to Luther's having received it. If somebody's doubting makes a thing doubtful, there is little which is beyond doubt, from the existence of matter or mind down to the capacity of Dr. Brown to be honest in controversy. But as to its being doubtful whether Luther received this letter of May 22d—that is simply ridiculous. It was never doubted through the ages that followed the Reformation. It would not be doubted, even by Dr. Brown, now,

had not the fact stood in the way of Rückert, in his "pet theory," set forth in 1854. Dr. Brown has adopted the suspicion without examination. Had he looked at the evidence in the case he would have known that Luther's reception of the letter is not merely a matter of just assumption, but a matter of moral demonstration. "In relation to the letter of Melanchthon, May 22d," says Knaake,[15] "Rückert has fallen into a singular error. According to Rückert this letter did not reach Luther. By comparing the different passages in which Rückert speaks of this letter, we see that the order of succession was to his mind as follows: The letter was put by Melanchthon, as in the usual manner, into the office of the Saxon Electorate, that it might be carried to Luther by the courier (tabellarius) of D. Apell; but the Chancellor Brück kept it back, and the messenger (nuntius) of D. Apell reached Coburg without it: Luther consequently did not receive the account of the Confession written May 22. It is unaccountable to us how Rückert could have reached such a view, unless we attribute it to an utterly superficial use of the sources. *First*, Melanchthon had not at all designed to send this writing of his by the courier (tabellarius) of D. Apell; a messenger was already hired to take it, when Apell's courier arrived" (at Augsburg) "with Luther's letters" (to the Elector, in reply to the letter of May 11, and Melanchthon's of the same date), "and this messenger was actually entrusted with it; Melanchthon proposes to write again more at large by Apell's messenger on his return. All this Melanchthon himself says in his letter of May 22 to Luther:— 'We had already hired a messenger to go to you, and afterwards to Wittenberg. But while we were writing, your last letters were delivered to us by D. Apell's courier. We shall write more by Apell's messenger. Meantime do you give to this, our messenger, letters for your wife, for he can bring back an answer.' To Veit Dietrich Melanchthon writes: 'Arrange to write to the wife of the Doctor (Luther) by this our courier. For I gave him direction to wait for your letters. . . . He is a citizen of Augsburg, and has been hired by us to go to Wittenberg.' *So then* we have for the proper care of no other letter so many grounds as precisely for the one in question. It must have been in Luther's hands as early as

[15] Luther's Antheil, 61–65.

June 1, for in his letter to Jacob Probst he unmistakably draws from it. For example:

"Melanchthon writes to Luther: 'Cæsar nondum adest.'

"*Vix ante Pentecosten videtur affuturus.*

"*Non admisit Bavaros*, oute ton Georgion.

"*Vult enim se servare integrum.*

"Mercurinus o archigrammateus, vir summus et moderatissimus, quem aiunt dicere, nolle se violentis consiliis interesse. Addidit Mercurinus hoc quoque: Wormaciae apparuisse, quam nihil proficiant violenta consilia."

"To Melanchthon's words in his letter: 'De Frisiis, jussit Princeps, D. Pomeranum istic Saxonicae linguæ peritum hominem idoneum quaerere et mittere ad Frisios. In hanc sententiam potes respondere.'"

Luther informs Jacob Probst: *Cæsar* Insbrugi est *forte ad Pentecosten concedet.*

Noluit eos admittere Duces Bavariae, Dux Georgius.

Volens se integrum in causa servare.

Et summus Cancellarius Mercurinus palam dixit se nolle interesse violentis Consiliis, quod vidisset satis Wormatiae, quid efficerent violenta consilia.

There is a clear allusion to these words in Luther's letter to to Jacob Probst: Scribo Comiti Frisiae consolotarias, ut petis—et arbitror, Comiti a Principe esse scriptum.

"We have yet other witnesses to call, in proof that this letter of May 22d reached Luther. First we will look at a passage in Luther's letter of June 30th to Spalatin, which is as follows: 'You pledged yourself by the messenger of D. Jonas, that you would write to us and the Wittenbergers copiously, by D. Apell's messenger, so that we might expect quantities of letters.' When that messenger of Apell's came, bringing the letter of Jonas alone, for Wittenberg, and was asked 'Do you bring no letters?' he answered 'No.' 'How are the gentleman?' he answered 'Well.' The sentence is unfinished: Luther means to indicate the messenger of Jonas, as the last through whom he had received letters from Augsburg, before the beginning of the long silence. The messenger of Jonas here is no other than that very citizen of Augsburg, Civis Augustanus, who was specially sent on the business of Jonas, to Wittenberg, and who was to take Melanchthon's letter of May 22

to Luther. That he had done this is shown by the first words of the extract. From this same passage it follows, and is confirmed by Melanchthon's letter of June 5, that the nuntius of D. Apell was the first messenger who came from Augsburg to Luther, without letters; but we have seen above that this messenger returned (from Augsburg) subsequent to the 22d of May; this letter in question must consequently have been delivered to Luther. Had not this been the case, it would furthermore be surprising that Luther should have responded to Melanchthon's request, that he should write to the Landgrave Philip and his preacher Edward Schnepf, without knowing of this letter, in which alone that request is made. This argument, of course, implies that the reader agrees with our view that June 20 is the proper date of Luther's letter to the Landgrave. Finally the undoubtedly genuine addition to Luther's letter of June 29, to Melanchthon, puts the matter beyond all dispute, in which Luther says, 'I believe all your letters were delivered, which you sent by Dr. Jonas's messenger. *Hence also you may know that I have the picture of Vienna.*' The last words find their explanations in the passage in the letter of May 22: 'I send you a picture of Vienna besieged,' and their relation to the first words shows that Luther had received the letter and the picture."

This is not argument—it is demonstration. It is as certain that Luther received the letter of May 22, as that Melanchthon wrote it. When Dr. Brown says, "We can present the very same or similar coincidences in other letters written from Augsburg, to other persons, about the same time," he shows a complete ignorance of what his pretence involves. He made it at random—but we do not believe that even he would have had the hardihood to make it, if he had clearly known the complete ignorance and effrontery it involves.

THE LETTERS OF MAY 11 AND 15.

Dr. Brown's theory is, that the Elector's letter of May 11 went with the Confession, which was sent *after* the discussion, in which all the Estates participated, and that Luther's reply of May 15, to the Elector, is the approval to the Princes of which Melanchthon speaks, 1560. But in these two letters is the absolute confutation of the theory with which he links them.

i. If it is to them Melanchthon alludes, it is inconceivable that he does not give a reference to them. They were published both in the

Jena and Wittenberg editions of Luther's works, three years before. Why should Melanchthon appeal to the personal recollection of Princes, and other men of position yet living, if the very documents themselves were in the hands of men? It is as absurd as if in 1806, Thomas Jefferson had asserted, that thirty years before, the Declaration of Independence had been approved by Congress, and instead of referring to the documentary proof, had appealed to the personal recollection of those present at its adoption. Such appeals are made only in matters of secret, unknown or disputed history. But Luther's correspondence with the Elector was well known, and beyond dispute.

ii. If Melanchthon's appeal had reference to these two letters, the result would have been fatally against him, for they bear internal evidence against every distinctive point he made in 1560. They show conclusively that the Confession was still Saxon in its relations, that neither Princes, officials, counselors, or preachers had touched it at Augsburg; that as to its composition it was recognized as Melanchthon's, and as to its whole responsibility it was confined to him, to the Elector, and Luther; that the letter was not from the *Princes*, signing or unsigning; that Luther's reply was neither in form, nor virtually to any other than the Elector. In fact, the letters as they stand are in themselves sufficient to overthrow Dr. Brown, if there were nothing else. We would be safe in committing the whole question to the testimony of what he claims as his own witnesses. We ask the reader to compare what Melanchthon says, with the two letters, to decide whether it is possible to refer the words of 1560 to the letters of May 11 and 15, 1530.

DR. BROWN'S SUMMARY OF WHAT HE SUPPOSES HIMSELF TO HAVE DONE.

1. "Of the proofs offered by Drs. Conrad and Krauth, the first is based on a letter with a false date." This letter, whether with the typographical erratum,[16] or without it,[17] was never offered by us in proof of anything occurring, or supposed to occur, previous to July 3d. The erroneous date not only does not support our argument for the third sending, but is in direct conflict with it.

Dr. Conrad did not use the erroneous date before the Diet, nor did Dr. Brown challenge it, nor did we undertake to defend it. Dr. Brown, in that elaborate review of seven years ago, to which he al-

[16]Conservat. Reformat., 234. [17]Do., 239.

ludes, did not notice the erratum, as one who does not analyze carefully his jumbled and prevaricating statement might imagine he did; he knew nothing of it at the time he so meekly offered his "poor judgment" to Dr. Conrad. Dr. Conrad in his revision of his Article was misled by the erratum, modified his view in consequence of it, and to this innocent mistake of his, Dr. Brown is indebted for his knowledge of the erratum now. The correction of the erratum strengthens our theory and argument; it really strengthens Dr. Conrad's theory of a third sending, by helping it to the true basis, in a case in which a printer's error had to him put it on a false one.

2. "The second depends on the denial of a plain fact." One part of this "plain fact," on which Dr. Brown rests this statement, is that two titular princes, and Wolfgang of Anhalt, were in the suite of the Elector John, and with him in Augsburg before May 11. That is a plain fact, which Dr. Brown states in words which he derived from an old article of ours in the *Evangelical Review*, whose historical part was based on Walch.[18] Furthermore, as a part of this plain fact, he quotes from the same source—our translation of Walch—that there were counts, barons, and other nobles, theologians, Spalatin, Jonas, Melanchthon, in the Elector's suite. But this plain fact, to which Dr. Brown lends all the logic which is involved, in *italics* and SMALL CAPS, is one which we do not deny, and whose denial would be of no value in our argument. For the plain fact derives all the force which Dr. Brown would give it, from a number of fictions and blunders with which he invests it. Among these fictions and blunders are the following:

a. That the princes present before May 11, correspond with the *praesentibus principibus* of whom Melanchthon speaks. These princes he carefully defines as "the princes whose *names follow* the Confession." The only one of the great princes present before May 11 was the Elector. It is the more generally received view that the two titular princes did not sign before the delivery. Wolfgang of Anhalt was of little political importance, and is the last prince signing. George of Brandenburg, next to the Elector politically, was not there. Ernest, Duke of Luneburg, was not there; Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, was not there—the Elector alone, of the great princes, was there. If Dr. Brown thinks we make little of the Elector's suite, what will he say to Melanchthon, who so com-

[18] *Evangelical Rev.*, October, 1849, 249.

pletely ignores it that he writes more than once, "Our prince is the only one present." Yet Dr. Brown thinks so much of his princes that he insists that three of them make more than the half of six or seven—"a majority."

b. Another fiction and blunder is that there was any one whatever before May 11, correspondent with the "*aliis gubernatoribus praesentibus*," the other officials (other than the princes) of whom Melanchthon speaks. For these also are the gubernatores (other than the princes) "whose names follow the Confession;" "the cities," as the German has it one place; "the legates," as it has it at another. These gubernatores, officials, cities, legates, were the senate and cities of Nürnberg and Reutlingen, and none of these were present before May 11.

c. Another fiction and blunder is that the theologians present before May 11, correspond with the "Concionatoribus praesentibus," the preachers present, of whom Melanchthon speaks. "The Elector and princes and legates, who subscribed the Confession, together with *their* preachers, who were present," as the German has it.

Among these preachers were Schnepf and Ottinger, who came with the Landgrave of Hesse, May 12; Heinrich Bock, who came with Ernest of Luneberg, May 14; Adam Candid, John Rurer, Martin Moglin, who came with the Margrave George of Brandenburg, May 24. Last of all, and next to Melanchthon greatest of all the divines who were at Augsburg, came John Brentz, starting with George of Brandenburg, but detained by sickness, and reaching the Diet May 27.

d. With these preachers in the discussions of which Melanchthon speaks, the *Counselors* of the Elector, Princes and cities were associated; "*their* counselors," ihren Redten, the German says; but of these bodies of counselors, there was but one before May 11, that of the Elector of Saxony. John and Francis, as titular princes, and Wolfgang, as himself but part of a suite, had no counselors.

e. Finally on this point, it is a fiction and blunder, that there was any discussion on the Confession, in the presence of any assembled princes and officials and preachers, before the 11th. We have the most direct and ample evidence that Melanchthon continued his work alone and unaided till the 22d; and we know that all participation on the part of others at any time was subsequent to the 22d.

iii. Dr. Brown continues: "And a mistranslation of Melanchthon's Latin." We think that our readers, who will look at the masterly discussion of the question of Latinity, which we owe to the pen of Dr. Jacobs, will be satisfied that Melanchthon's Latin has not been mistranslated—by us. But if every change suggested by Dr. Brown were accepted as valid, and everything thrown out which he confesses himself unable to translate, it would in no respect weaken our proof, or strengthen his denial. Let us with Dr. Brown say that "there was discussion" on it, and not that it "was discussed;" that the discussion was "in order on or concerning each opinion or subject or point," and not on the sentences in which "each opinion or subject or point" was asserted. Let it be granted that the thing sent was not the "complete or finished form," but only the "entirety or totality of the document." Still Dr. Brown has not denied that it is a correct translation, that this "entirety or totality," is styled "the Confession which is extant," "this Confession which was read before the Emperor." He has not denied that the translation is correct, that it is "the princes and officials, the Elector, and princes, and legates, whose names follow the Confession," who are spoken of. He has overthrown no translation on which rests the proof that the great princes, with one exception, were not at Augsburg till after May 11; that the legates of the two cities were not there; that the counselors and preachers, with the exception of those of Saxony, were not there; that there was no purpose of making the Confession a general one, previous to May 11; and that there was no discussion among the final signers, their counselors and preachers, until after May 22. Dr. Brown has not denied that "deinde" is correctly translated "subsequently," and that "postea" means "after this," and these standing, everything stands for which we contend in Melanchthon's testimony, and Dr. Brown's laborious criticisms shed light upon nothing whatever except the weakness of his Latin. Our argument stands just as firm with Dr. Brown's translation as with our own. He has been trying to shoot our pickets, but has never come within sight of our lines.

iv. Finally, of our proofs Dr. Brown says: "The third has no solid basis to support it." This we understand to allude to Melanchthon's letter of May 22d. Dr. Brown denies that there is satisfactory proof that Luther ever *received* it. But the real point is, did

Melanchthon *send* it, and Dr. Brown admits the *sending* – a second *sending* would establish Melanchthon's intent and desire, even without a second *reception*. But we have demonstrated that Luther did receive it. Dr. Brown asserts that so far as he knows there is no pretense of a reply to it. We have produced the letter of Luther, in which he does reply to it. And yet, Dr. Brown adds that if the third proof had a solid basis, it "proves nothing to the point." Now, the point is that Melanchthon sent the Confession a second time. This fact Dr. Brown admits; the accessory fact that Luther received it we have demonstrated—and this proves everything to the point, and more indeed than the point requires. It disposes absolutely of Dr. Brown's challenge as he really made it in the Diet. It sweeps out of existence Dr. Brown's theory that the sending of May 11 was the only one. He concedes the second *sending*, and we have proved the second *reception*.

WHAT DR. BROWN HAS ACTUALLY DONE.

Of the argument offered by Dr. Brown, the *first part* is the correction of an acknowledged typographical erratum, an erratum by which our argument had never been supported, and by which it would really be weakened. The *second part* of his argument depends on the confounding undisputed and totally irrelevant facts with a number of fictions of his own devising, and of inexcusable blunders of his own making, accompanied by a set of bad translations also of his own making, which, however, if allowed, one and all have no bearing on his points The *third part* of his argument is his ignorant contradiction of a fact (Luther's *reception* of the letter of May 22) which is supported by direct and demonstrative testimony, but apart from which his admission of the *sending*, is overwhelming against him on the point on which he made the challenge. Dr. Brown's article shows that he made no genuine effort to compensate by industry for his want of vocation to the work he attempted. When he closes with saying, "We still wait for the proof," he must mean the printer's proof of his unfortunate article, for he gives no evidence of having examined any other sort with care. That printer's proof he no doubt pondered with peculiar solicitude, as nothing is more annoying than to be caught in blunders while we are trying to set others right. Yet, as a sad token of the fallibility of men who are engaged in exposing failure, Dr. Brown is compelled to end his article with a codicil of special "errata"

which might have been enlarged to advantage. One of these errata converts Luther into a woman; the other is in the name of that very July in the erratum on which his energies had been mainly concentrated for seven pages. Total result of Dr. Brown's labors and dire threats for years—the detection of a misprint, by which he helped the cause he was assailing; the discovery of an erratum, making two errata in the process. These two belong to his little errata; his great erratum is the article itself, which is destitute alike of scholarship in execution, of truthfulness in spirit, or of any success in result, general or particular, great or small.

V. "A SLIGHT QUESTION."

Under the head, "A Slight Question in Reformation History," the *Lutheran*, of April 25, 1878, has some remarks on the discussion in the Philadelphia Diet, as to a second and third sending of the Augsburg Confession to Luther, before its delivery. The writer of the article concurs with us in the belief that there was a second sending, and so takes ground against Dr. Brown's real challenge in the Diet, which involved only the second sending. The article, however, seems to sustain Dr. Brown in his fictitious afterthought, and his imaginary challenge of a sending *between May 22d and June 2d*. This is an assertion which Dr. Conrad did not make before the Diet, which Dr. Brown did not challenge before the Diet, and which we never made and never endorsed, but on the contrary, have explicitly rejected. Dr. Brown got up his imaginary challenge by abusing the confidential privilege of seeing Dr. Conrad's revised essay as it went through the press, and then falsifying his own record to adjust it to his discovery of a typographical erratum, by which Dr. Conrad was misled, and which Dr. Brown goes on to treat as a designed falsification, kept up by conspiracy. We wish that with the slight question of Chronology, the *Lutheran* had touched the very grave question of Morality.

Now, we ask the *Lutheran* quietly to look with us at the facts which are beyond all dispute, in the testimony of Melanchthon, in his words of 1560, and which we claim answer the slight question in the very way in which we answer it.

i. The words clearly state of *whom* Melanchthon speaks: "There were some who wished to avoid the perils of Confession. But others, the Princes and officials *whose names follow the Confession*, judged that the Confession should be presented." [Germ. Elector

and Princes, and cities, legates.][19] "Gubernatores" does not mean "nobles," as the *Lutheran* translates it. It refers especially to the governmental officials, the legates who represented Nürnberg and Reutlingen. There were no noblemen except the Princes, who signed the Confession. Those of whom it speaks were, as a body, not in Augsburg May 22.

ii. The words of Melanchthon clearly state *of what* Confession it speaks: It is the Confession which is extant.[20] It is no fragment or division. It is the complete form.[21] It is morally identical with the Confession as delivered; that is, identical in the faith, and in the substantials of the form of expression. We have never asserted, as the *Lutheran* seems to suppose, that it was approved by Luther, "exactly as it went before the Emperor." On the contrary, we have said: "This complete form was identical *in matter* with the Confession as exhibited, although verbal changes were made by Melanchthon up to the very time of its delivery."[22] There were changes in words, none in things; literary changes, not theological ones. It was *this* Confession[23] which Luther read and approved, and this Confession which was read before the Emperor.[24]

iii. It is beyond dispute that Melanchthon marks the *time when* the discussion which preceded Luther's approval of the Confession took place. He marks it:

a. By the presence of the Elector, Princes and Legates of the cities who signed it. These came to Augsburg in the following order: May 2—1. The Elector; 2. The titulary Prince, John Frederick, the Elector's son; 3. The titulary Prince, Francis; 4. Wolfgang of Anhalt (these three were in the suite of the Elector, and were of least weight politically; of the two titulary Princes it has long been doubted, and is still doubted, whether they signed the Confession before its presentation); 5—May 12, Philip of Hesse; 6—May 14. Ernst of Luneberg; 7—May 15, Nürnberg; 8—May 21, Reutlingen; 9—May 24, George, Margrave of Brandenburg.

If the discussions had begun the day of the arrival of George of Brandenburg, they would have begun on May 24. In regard to

[19] Alii vero principes et gubernatores, quorum nomina ascripta sunt. [Germ. Diese Chur unnd Fürsten, unnd Stedt—Chur und Fürsten, unnd Botschafften, welche sich unterschrieben haben.]

[20] Quae extat. [21] Tota forma. [22] Conserv. Reformat., 233.

[23] Hanc Confessionem. [24] Coram Imperatore lecta est haec Confessio.

Philip of Hesse, Melanchthon writes May 22 that he was beginning to show a desire to take part in the Saxon Confession; May 17, the Nürnberg Legates have not seen the Confession; May 20, they have not seen it; May 22, they have not yet seen it, but it has come back from Luther; May 26, they have not yet seen it; May 28, they have not seen it. Not till May 31 do they get a copy of the Latin for the Nürnberg Senate. We think no one can read the letters of these Nürnberg "gubernatores" and continue to imagine they took part in any discussion of the Confession before May 22.

b. It is marked by the time of the coming of the great theologians who took part in the discussion. The greatest of these after Melanchthon, known to have borne part in this discussion, was Brentius, who did not reach Augsburg till May 27.

c. It is marked by the time when the Saxon Confession was first regarded with reference to the possibility of making it the Confession of all. This was not until after May 24. The proposition to make the Saxon Confession the Common Confession originated with George of Brandenburg, the last comer of all, and next to the Elector, the greatest of the Protestant Princes.

d. It is marked by the time when the Confession was in such a state of completeness that it could be made the basis of discussion. It was demonstratively in no such state till after May 22, when Melanchthon writes of the Articles of Faith as completed unless Luther has changes to suggest, but that the rest of the Confession is yet open to important modifications.

iv. But with the foreclosing of the question of the time of the discussion, the whole question between us and the *Lutheran* seems to be foreclosed. For it cannot be disputed, nor does the *Lutheran* nor Dr. Brown dispute, that Melanchthon asserts that *after the discussion*, in the presence of the Princes and other Officials who became Signers of the Confession, it was sent to Luther. "*Missa est deinde*" can mean only that it was *subsequently* sent—"*then* sent," as the *Lutheran* is pleased to render it, which does well enough as regards the main point, but fails to mark the emphatic character of the "*deinde*," which shows that Melanchthon laid stress on the succession in order of time. Dr. Brown says the discussion took place before May 11; the *Lutheran* says it took place before May 22; but both agree that the whole form was prepared and discussed *before* it was sent to Luther.

v. It cannot be disputed that Melanchthon says that Luther signified his approval to the princes (principibus), who discussed, and afterwards signed the Confession. This cannot refer to Luther's letter of May 15, for several reasons: a. The letter to which that is an answer was sent by the Elector alone, no other Princes (of his suite) taking part in it; it was not the object of discussion among the Princes and legates—the counselors and theologians. It implies that no one at Augsburg had touched the Confession except Melanchthon. b. Luther's letter is to the Elector alone, about Melanchthon's "Apology," and precludes all idea of there having been any general discussion of the "Apology" before the sending. c. The Elector's and Luther's letters had been published in both the Wittenberg and Jena editions three years before. They were in the hands of all, and familiar to all. Melanchthon had edited the Ninth Volume of the Wittenberg Edition, in which the letters are contained. Their character could not but be familiar to Melanchthon, and he, and all who read them, could not but see that his language could not apply to them. The *Lutheran* itself agrees with us here, and says that the letter of May 22, and Luther's of June 1, "and the tenor of Melanchthon's statements in the Preface to his Corpus Doctrinae, strongly warrant the inference that Luther did have the Confession, as a whole, sent him subsequently to May 11, and that it then again received his sanction." For Dr. Brown's theory, that Melanchthon's words refer to the one sending May 11, it substitutes the theory that they refer to *two* sendings, May 11 and May 22, in which the *Lutheran's* position is weaker than Dr. Brown's, for the words can refer only to one sending. Melanchthon must be taken as a valid witness on the Chronology throughout, or he is not a valid witness on the Chronology at all.

vi. Nor can it be disputed that Melanchthon says unmistakably, that *after* the discussion, and *after* the sending to Luther, and his writing of his approval, *in that order of succession*, it was read before the Emperor. *Postea* lecta est, can mean nothing but "after this," to wit, this discussion and the sending, it was read. A good Latinist like Melanchthon, marks as he does, by "*deinde*" and "*postea*," strict succession in relation and time: *First*, it was discussed; second, it was sent to Luther; third, it was returned with his approval; fourth and finally, it was read to the Emperor. Of this very vital and conclusive fact, the *Lutheran* does not seem to

have known, as it added to the general misfortune of quoting second-hand, the particular misfortune of quoting after Dr. Brown's garbled extract—quoting him so closely as to retain his typographical blunder "*quae*" for "*qui*." Had the *Lutheran* had before it the entire document, it could hardly have failed to see how untenable is the position of Dr. Brown in which it has followed him. How amply our position is sustained by the general judgment of the ages, from the earliest scholarship of the Sixteenth Century to the latest and ripest of our own, we have shown at large, and it is only necessary here to refer to the testimony we have already given. We shall simply add one more witness.

Köllner, who on such a question as this, is among the supreme authorities, first shows by overwhelming evidence, that the Elector stood alone; that not until after the coming of the Margrave George, May 24, was the deliberation in common entered upon. He then traces the processes minutely by the dates. He then says: "In the development of the circumstances as we have given them, the Articles of Melanchthon, one by one, were at a later period publicly submitted to the representatives of the evangelical party, and were every time not only most carefully discussed and pondered by the other theologians, but also by the civil counselors, nay, by the Princes themselves, and were fixed only after the most careful pondering." He then quotes, in confirmation of this statement, the very words of Melanchthon, in the Corpus, now under consideration, and adds: "What Melanchthon *says above* does not hold good *until after* the time when the estates desired the completion and presentation of the Confession, in the name of them all, consequently, as a common symbol—*from about June 8th.*"[25]

THE ATTEMPT TO MEET THE FACTS.

How does the *Lutheran* attempt to meet our argument? Not by showing or attempting to show that Melanchthon's words can bear any other meaning than that we have given them. It accepts our premises and denies our inference.

i. "*All* the terms of this statement were reasonably fulfilled in the sendings of May 11 and May 22." We have shown on the contrary, that not *one* of the terms of the statement, was fulfilled in the sendings of May 11th and May 22d. On the contrary, the position of the *Lutheran* is simply impossible.

[25] Symbolik. Erster Theil, 176–180.

a. It makes Melanchthon refer to *two* sendings. He speaks of but one.

b. In bringing in May 22d, it destroys all the force of its own position, as to the absence of corroborative testimony; for we do not possess any judgment of Luther on the Confession, as sent May 22d. The silence of Luther is as deep on the second sending, which the *Lutheran* admits, as on the third, which it denies because of his silence. But the case against the *Lutheran* is yet stronger. We know that Luther did receive the letter of May 22d. We have produced his answer to it. The answer does not refer to the Confession at all. Melanchthon's letter of May 22d is one to which it would have been ridiculous for Luther to reply in the form of an approval sent to the Princes, as any one will see who reads it. It required an answer only in case the doctrinal articles, in Luther's judgment, required a change. His silence was his answer. Melanchthon cannot refer to an endorsement sent to the Princes, because of his letter of May 22. The *Lutheran* must either go forward to our theory of a third sending, or fall back on Dr. Brown's that there was but one. A moment's reflection will make this very clear.

Either Melanchthon's words, "he wrote to the princes," refer to Luther's letter of May 15, or they do not. If they do, then they do not refer to a letter written after May 22. If they do not refer to the letter of May 15, the *Lutheran* has nothing whatever on the record to show any reply of Luther's corresponding with Melanchthon's words of 1560. Dr. Brown has the letter of May 15, by which he can establish his theory at once by simply showing that Melanchthon did not know what he was writing about. But the *Lutheran* has nothing whatever by which to hold. Dr. Brown takes valiantly hold of one plank out of the wreck; the *Lutheran*, trying to grasp two planks, sinks between them. If it be shown that Melanchthon blundered in every particular, and is unreliable from beginning to end, we take Dr. Brown's theory as the plausible one; but if Melanchthon did not blunder, Dr. Brown and the *Lutheran* are alike mistaken in general, but the *Lutheran* is more mistaken than Dr. Brown, in particular. If the words of 1560 prove any sending, they prove a sending after May 22; if they do not prove that, they prove none. Even the sending of May 11 must be established on other grounds. Melanchthon is here good for all we cite him for, or he is good for nothing.

c. Melanchthon's words are not then "*reasonably* fulfilled" in the sending of the 11th or of the 22d, or of both. It is a curious fact that with the *Lutheran*, just as with Dr. Brown, the very heart of our argument is not even alluded to in the attempts to meet the argument. The demonstrated fact that the Elector, Princes and Legates of the cities, *who signed* the Confession and their Counselors and Theologians are throughout presented by Melanchthon as those among whom the discussion took place, which *preceded* the sending to Luther; the demonstrated fact that they were not present as a whole till May 27; the demonstrated fact that until after May 22 it was not proposed to make the Saxon Confession a general one; the demonstrated fact that no discussion of a general kind took place till June—all these facts, which are incontestible and decisive, are not even alluded to; but little matters are dwelt upon which have no bearing on the real question, and are decided by arguments which, whether good or bad in themselves, are totally irrelevant to the entire subject. We do not know precisely what degree of reservation may be involved in the term "reasonably" by which the "fulfilled" is qualified; but we feel safe in assuming that what is not fulfilled at all is not "*reasonably fulfilled.*" The *Lutheran's* theory is not only not in reasonable conformity with Melanchthon's words—it is directly contradictory of them.

ii. The most important fact, in which the *Lutheran* finds a difficulty, is one which we have presented in the Conservative Reformation.[26] It is there said: "Luther's letter of June 20, to Justus Jonas, gives direct evidence how long the interruption of correspondence continued: 'Your letters have come at last, my Jonas, after we were well-fretted *for three whole weeks* with your silence.'"[27] The dates of the letters to Luther, at this period, which have been preserved, are as follows: May 22, Melanchthon writes; June 1, the Elector;[28] June 13, Melanchthon;[29] June 19, Melanchthon.[30] These dates, however, could create no difficulty in any case, for

[26]P. 230–232.

[27]Coelestinus, 136 b. Seckendorf, II. 181. Buddeus, No. 127. Walch, XVI. 976, who is generally thought to be mistaken in giving it as the reply of Luther to the letter of Jonas of June 25–29. De Wette, IV. 45, No. 1232.

[28]Werke; Jena, V. 25. Leipzig, XX. 175.

[29]Corp. Ref., IV. Sup., 1008, No. 721, a.

[30]Corp. Ref., II. 731.

they involve the personal correspondence of Luther only. We have here to do with a single official communication. But these dates certainly remove one difficulty. They show that there was communication with Luther from Augsburg, at three periods after May 22, and in time for him to have examined the Confession again, and to have sent his views. The courier who took the Elector's and Melanchthon's letters, could have taken other communications. There is no intrinsic impossibility arising from the nature of the case, and no insuperable lack of evidence, granting that these data really exhaust the case and the evidence. There is no evidence whatever against Melanchthon's statement of this sending after the discussions, which followed May 22. But we do not know that these data really do exhaust the case, or the evidence. There may be much, yet unknown to us, which would shed a powerful light on the whole question.

To abate the merely negative argument from the assumed silence of Luther, there are various things which it may be well to remember :

1. Let us remember how few are the data, how much of the most important matter is lost. Out of all those days, full of intense feelings, of plans, hopes and fears, we have but a whisper here and there. Of days which must have been crowded with much of which we would like to know everything, we know almost nothing. History is often compelled to reconstruct, after the manner of the comparative anatomist who has but a scale, a bone, a tooth, to guide him in his restoration of some giant figure.

2. Luther often does not answer the particular points of a letter, or assumes that what he says to one would come to the knowledge of another, or answers by the deed, without the word of detail. Any one who will go over his correspondence as given in this volume, will be struck with this.

3. His complaints of the silence for three weeks in June, have respect to the correspondence of his personal friends—of Melanchthon especially, and Jonas.

4. He shows no anxiety in regard to the Confession, but only in regard to the personal safety of his friends, and the safety of the cause.

5. He does not say that he has received no communications from Augsburg. We know he received some, outside of the correspondence with personal friends.

6. There were secret and carefully guarded communications with Luther. Spies were very active, especially after the coming of the Emperor. The ordinary messengers were treacherous. Special precautions might be taken in communicating with Luther. His place of retreat was kept secret from the Romanists.

7. The same general reasons which caused Luther to be left at Coburg, would cause the Prince to keep him as much out of view as possible. Because he was the power mightier than the throne, he was very carefully kept behind the throne.

8. The lives of the Confessors were in peril. War was threatened. Persecution was urged, and a slight pretence of provocation might be sufficient to precipitate matters. The charge of collusion with Luther, who was under both bans, might have been used as a pretext not only for breaking off all negotiations, but for violence and bloodshed. Hence every official approach to Luther, in June, was most solicitously guarded.

9. Nürnberg suggests possible solutions of some of the yet unraveled mysteries. It is to the diary of its delegates we owe the most important of the Annals of the Augsburg Confession. Nürnberg lies midway on the route between Augsburg and Coburg. Luther received much from Augsburg, through friends at Nürnberg. Whatever went to Nürnberg was half-way to Luther, and to Nürnberg *copies of the Confession* were passing at the very period in discussion. How easy it would have been by a secret understanding to have a copy sent by arrangement with the Nürnbergers, Luther's zealous friends, and, even as over against Melanchthon, almost jealous of his position and rights in this great crisis! What will Luther think of it? would to them, and all the friends of the Reformation, at Augsburg and elsewhere, be a supreme question.

10. There may have been a special arrangement by which Luther was reached and heard from in this particular crisis, with an extraordinary degree of promptness. Such a communication would of course be guarded with special caution. When Maimburg says[31] that "*couriers were sent daily* to keep Luther informed as to what was doing in the Diet and the Colloquies," his statement may have been influenced by rumors which rose from imperfect knowledge of a particular case of sending.

The Romanists had got into their hands, by clandestine means,

[31] Histor. Lutheranism. Lib. II. sec. 32. See Seckendorf, II. sec. LXIX.

Luther's XVII Articles. There were spies and sneaks, and informers, in the Protestant camp, as there are in all camps. The Romanists were very eager to get possession of the Confession before its delivery, and Rome had plenty of children to whom perjury and murder, for the Church's sake, were virtues. It would have completely thwarted all the plans of the Confessors if their document had been intercepted. If a copy of the Confession had been seized on its way to Luther, the enemies would have been triumphant, the friends humiliated and weakened beyond measure. The Confession, it is safe to say, would in that case, never have been presented to the Diet. In sending it to Luther, after the gathering of the Estates, with the Emperor, special precautions could be employed. It would not go openly with the ordinary correspondence through the common couriers. All allusions, in letter, which would give a hint of the sending, or a clue to it, could be avoided. The obligations of secrecy on the part of all involved, would be made very strict. The reasons for making it a secret then, would be of force, for keeping it a secret, and it is with the air of imparting something secret hitherto, that Melanchthon puts forth his statement years afterward.

11. There may be unknown sources of obscuration, in regard to the points here involved. New sources of evidence may here be opened, as they have been on points of greater difficulty. The Nürnberg letters, which shed so much light upon the dark points of the history of the Confession, were unknown for centuries. Misapprehensions have been dispelled, after enduring for ages. Difficulties long considered insuperable, have vanished before the discovery of some fact of seemingly slight character. How many surface difficulties does the Book of books present, and how many of the most serious of them have been dispelled with the growth of knowledge! Falsehood hedges her path with cunning contrivances, and hence, in the outstart of the searcher, all the obtrusive probabilities may seem to be on the side of error, all the apparent difficulties may lie in the way of truth, whose very innocence makes her move with unguarded steps.

12. But waiving all this: In the strongest putting of the objection it only amounts to negative improbability over against direct evidence of the very strongest and most unimpeachable kind. It amounts to this, that we do not now possess corroborative evidence

of a certain kind. But were this valid and overwhelming for an inference of any kind, it would not be such for the inference made by the *Lutheran*. Melanchthon's words can have but one meaning — that Luther had the entire Confession sent to him subsequent to May 22. If it can be shown that it could not have been sent at that time, the inference is not that Melanchthon meant to express some other time, but that he was totally mistaken: He falsified, or he blundered. The *Lutheran* is shut up to one or other of these conclusions if it would shake our position. But in arguing as it does, on the assumption that Melanchthon wrote the truth, its objection becomes fatal to itself, and leaves our argument untouched. It is simply impossible and absurd to say that Melanchthon's notification of dates is correct, and yet that there was no later sending to Luther than May 22.

Nothing but the utter overthrow of Melanchthon's credibility as a witness can weaken our claim to have established by the strongest moral probability that the Augsburg Confession, doctrinally the same in principle and essential detail throughout, was sent three times to Luther, in three different stages of elaboration, previous to its delivery. If this result be accepted, it annihilates at one stroke the boldest and most plausible of the pretences by which the attempt has been made to weaken the Augsburg Confession as a witness and bulwark of pure Lutheranism, and as a barrier against Sectarian Unionism.

A QUESTION OF LATINITY.

A QUESTION OF LATINITY.

BY REV. HENRY E. JACOBS, D. D., *Franklin Professor in Pennsylvania College.*

IN the *Quarterly Review*, for April, 1878, we have been called to account for an endorsement, given several years ago, to that portion of "*The Conservative Reformation*," which treats of the relation of Luther to the Augsburg Confession. In the *Mercersburg Review* for January, 1872, p. 72, we had said:

"The hypothesis of Rückert, according to which Luther was prevented by a strategy of the Elector, from actually participating in its composition, is accurately examined and completely overthrown by the evidence of original documents. Inasmuch as the aim of the theory is to prove the existence, in the Confession, of concessions to Rome, which would have met the disapproval of Luther, if he had been aware of them, we have always thought it sufficiently answered from the ground of internal evidence; for all the doctrines thus attacked, can be reproduced from innumerable passages of Luther, written not only after, but very many before, the Diet of Augsburg. Scarcely a charge of this kind can be made against the Augsburg Confession, which does not apply also to the Larger and Smaller Catechisms. Yet it is a matter of congratulation, that the author has met the hypothesis on its own ground, and found it to be so entirely opposed to the facts in the case. In connection with this chapter, we have carefully studied in the original the entire correspondence referred to, and can bear witness to the accuracy of every statement in the discussion."

In this last sentence, the editor of the *Quarterly* finds "a manifest reference to the strictures of this *Review* on the character of some of the statements and arguments of the *Conservative Reformation.*" It may be well, in passing, to say that we have no recollection whatever of any strictures of the *Review* which were in mind, when the notice referred to was written. The *Conservative Reformation* had appeared almost three months before it was noticed in the *Quarterly*. Beginning our study of it immediately

on its publication, in connection with the chapter on the subject before us, we read the collection of the correspondence during the Diet, made by Coelestinus, which assured us of the strength of Dr. Krauth's position, the correctness of his inferences, and the utter untenableness of the opposite theory. The *Review* reached us during a period of great care and anxiety, followed in the same month by absence from home, and the death of a beloved father; so that, on referring to our copy since the recent revival of the subject, we find the pages containing the strictures uncut. We were not unacquainted, it is true, with certain exceptions which the editor of the *Review* had taken to Dr. Krauth's renderings: but we knew of these chiefly from private conversation, and the reference of a sentence to us for examination, with our written opinion on which we had believed him to be satisfied. We in no way considered the editor of the *Review* the champion of the theory which we pronounced untenable, although even if we had, our testimony against it would have been no less emphatic. So much as to the charge of going out of our way to attack the *Review*.

The article now before us, has compelled a reëxamination of the entire subject. Such glaring blunders in translations from the Latin have been charged upon the renderings, for the endorsement of which we are held accountable, that it is a simple duty to test the matter still more thoroughly, and either to confess error, or state the reasons why we deem the arguments adduced insufficient to convince us.

Our article in the *Mercersburg Review* scarcely makes us responsible for any translations beyond those of the *correspondence*. Neither can we be held accountable for any rendering that may appear in the Proceedings of the Diet, other than had previously appeared in the *Conservative Reformation*. Waiving, however, all immunities which we might claim from our past relation to the controversy, we propose to consider the entire question of Latinity involved in the exceptions that have been taken. We approach it as though it were entirely a new subject, and give the result of investigations with the aid of authorities more trustworthy than any we had previously at our command. We acknowledge that our language of seven years ago, in which "we bear witness to the accuracy of *every* statement involved in the discussion," was somewhat stronger than we now see was justified by the extent of our

researches at that time; since, as we grow older, we are no longer satisfied with processes which seemed sufficiently ample then. But, after a patient reconsideration of the entire matter, we are compelled to say that the recent exceptions have not led us to detect any error.

The history of the origination of the Augsburg Confession is not without its difficulties. There are links wanting, the absence of which we greatly miss. It is scarcely to be wondered at that some readers of the correspondence, hoping to find among what has been preserved some letter either from Luther to Melanchthon, or from Melanchthon to Luther, concerning the submission of the Confession in its complete form, or some allusion to such a letter, become discouraged, and begin to question whether at this stage of preparation the Confession was ever seen by Luther, until after its delivery. Nor need we be surprised, that, full of a theory built upon this negative evidence, the temptation may become strong to explain away positive proof to that, whose chronological relations they cannot precisely fix, and to do violence to language that forbids such interpretation.

It is assumed on both sides, in the argument, that Melanchthon is a competent witness to the origin of the Augsburg Confession, that the purity of his character forbids the idea of prevarication on his part, that, after the lapse of thirty years, his memory was sufficiently accurate concerning the most important event of his life, that, notwithstanding advancing years and the loss of health, his intellectual power was still unabated, and that the habit of precision in the choice and application of words, for which he was distinguished above his cotemporaries, had not deserted him. All this is conceded; and the decision of the question is made to turn upon the translation of a passage in the preface to the Latin edition of the *Corpus Doctrinæ* (February 16th, 1560.)[1]

Congessi igitur simplici studio capita confessionis, quae extat, complexus paene summam doctrinæ Ecclesiarum nostrarum, et ut Imperatori responderetur, et ut falsa crimina depellerentur. Ac nihil sumsi. Praesentibus Principibus et aliis gubernatoribus et concionatoribus disputatum est ordine de singulis sententiis. Missa est deinde et Luthero tota forma confessionis, qui Principibus scripsit se hanc confessionem et legisse et probare. Haec ita acta esse,

[1] C. R. IX. 1052.

Principes et alii honesti et docti viri adhuc superstites meminerunt. Postea coram Imperatore Carolo in magna frequentia Principum lecta est haec confessio, quod ipsum ostendit, non esse obtrusam Caesari non poscenti.

This Dr. Krauth has translated :[2]

"I brought together, therefore, in singleness of purpose, the principal points of the Confession, which is extant, embracing pretty nearly the sum of the doctrine of our churches."

"I assumed nothing to myself. For in the presence of the Princes and other officials, and of the preachers, it was discussed and determined upon in regular course, sentence by sentence."

"The complete form (*tota forma*) of the Confession was subsequently sent to Luther, who wrote to the Princes, that he had both read the (literally *this—hanc*) Confession, and approved it."

"That these things were so, the Princes and other honest men, yet living, will remember."

"After this (*postea*), before the Emperor Charles, in a great assembly of the Princes, this Confession was read."

To the third and fourth sentences of this translation exception is taken, as follows:

1. "It is by no means certain that *de singulis sententiis* means 'sentence by sentence.' It may mean, and probably does, concerning each opinion or subject or point."

2. "It is quite certain, however, and does no require a very profound knowledge of Latin to know thus much, that *disputatum est* cannot have as its direct subject *confessio*, and hence that Melanchthon does not say: 'It [the Confession] was discussed and determined upon.' The verb is impersonal, and the meaning simply is, 'there was discussion in order on each opinion or point; or, as Dr. K. translates, 'sentence by sentence.'"

3. "Where the 'and determined' comes from we are not informed, and are at a loss to conjecture."

4. "When it is repeated, as it is, the words are italicized thus: 'It was *discussed* and *determined upon*,' etc. Then we have it, italics and additions, 'It was sent *after* the *discussion* and *determination* of it in regular order, article by article, as it came, and sentence by sentence, before and by Princes, officials and theologians' (Diet, p. 240). If it is meant, after the fashion of our English Bibles, to

[2] Proceedings of Diet, p. 238.

indicate by italics that the words have been interpolated by the translator, and are no part of Melanchthon's text, very well; but we suspect this is not the design, nor will the reader so understand it. We have thus interpolated into Melanchthon's statement '*determined upon, article by article as it came . . . by*,' without the shadow of authority in the original. It is, however, important to the author's purpose, and these six words of Melanchthon—disputatum est ordine de singulis sententiis—are made to do good service in the cause. But even after putting into the translation of Melanchthon's statement twice as much as it really contains," etc., etc.

5. "*Tota forma* does not refer so much to the finish or completeness of the work as the entirety or totality of the document, its plan or structure. . . . We should like to know where he found any such meaning as 'finished' for *tota*. We venture to say that 'finished' or 'completed' in the sense assigned to *tota*, is quite foreign to the meaning of that word. *Totus* expresses the *whole* in opposition to a part, and not '*finished*' in opposition to '*unfinished*.'"

I. DE SINGULIS SENTENTIIS.

It is conceded that this *may* mean "sentence by sentence;" but it is objected that probably a better translation is, "concerning each opinion or subject or point;" and then, on the basis of this latter translation, an attempt is made to render the expression indefinite and general. No one at all acquainted with the Latin, will deny that one of the most frequent meanings of *sententia* is "opinion, purpose, determination, decision." In this sense it is used, only a few paragraphs below the sentence to which exception is taken:

Spero meas labores et sententias multis piis et doctis probari; et semper me ipsum, measque sententias et actiones subjeci, et adhuc subjicio judiciis omnium piorum et eruditiorum.

But that *sententia* frequently has the meaning of "a thought expressed in words, a sentence, a period," "a proposition," is just as manifest. In this sense, we find it in the great works on Rhetoric, the *De Oratore* of Cicero, and the *De Institutione Oratoria* of Quintilian, upon both of which Melanchthon published *scholia*. This use of *sententia* might be illustrated by several passages in the *De Oratore*, for example, L. II., c. VIII. and IX.

In the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, long regarded as from the pen

of Cicero, and included in many editions of his works, but now ascribed to Cornificius and recognized as one of the sources from which Cicero drew largely, we find a definition of *sententia* accompanied by examples that leave no doubt as to its meaning.

Sententia est oratio sumpta de vita, quae aut quid sit, aut quid esse oporteat in vita, breviter ostendit, *i. e.*, "an expression derived from life, which briefly shows what is, or what should be in life." Then follow examples of what he calls simple sentences, *e. g.*, Difficile est primum virtutes revereri, qui semper secunda fortuna sit usus. Liber is est æstimandus, qui nulli turpitudini servit. Egens aeque est is, qui non satis habet, et is, cui nihil satis potest esse. L. IV., c. XVII. In c. XIX., a member or clause is defined as "a subject briefly brought to a close without a complete exhibition of the entire sentence"—"*sine totius sententiæ demonstratione*;" and then follows, as an example, the division of a sentence with its various clauses.

In Quintilian, we find this usage of the word, common in such expressions as *initia sententiarum* (IX. 3, 36); *initia et clausulæ sententiarum* (IX. 3, 45); *ad singulas sententias clausulæ* (XI. 3, 135); *congeries verborum ac sententiarum idem significantium*, followed by examples of the repetition of sentences and words (VIII. 4, 26, 27); *cludendi, inchoandi sententias ratio* (IX. 4, 18); *in media parte sententiæ* (IX. 4, 29); *minutissimis sententiis* (X. 1, 130), and many others.

The dictionaries all give this meaning as one of frequent occurrence; and students who have passed through the course of instruction in Latin, prescribed in that excellent manual, approved by the best institutions in England and America, Arnold's Latin Prose Composition, will recall *sententia* as the word given, p. 127, for sentence, and to be applied to such forms as: "He gave the boys the longest sentences he could, to be learned by heart word for word."

In this sense, too, the word *sententia* is employed by modern critics in their Latin notes on the classics. Without spending any time in searching for examples, we give one that accidentally met our eye, while writing, in Pearce's *Cicero de Oratore* (London, 1771): *Quam lectionem et sensus et haec Ciceronis sententia postulat, i. e.*, "both the sense and this sentence of Cicero demand."

In the *Clavis Scripturæ Sanctæ* of *Matthias Flacius Illyricus*, the parts of a *sententia* are enumerated, just as sentences in English

Grammars, viz., subject and predicate. Sententia igitur aut propositio qualiscunque, potissimum duobus quibusdam constare solet, nempe subjecto ac predicato, seu nomine et verbo. "Subject and predicate, or, in other words, noun and verb." (Clavis S. S., part II., p. 350.)

Nor must the usage of Melanchthon himself be overlooked. In his *scholia* on *Cicero de Oratore* (C. R. XVI., 749), he says: *Primum enim simplex sententia concipitur, ut: Scientia literarum est utilis.* Then he proceeds to show how this simple sentence may be varied by figures, and amplified. In his grammars, we find the later word, *periodus*, ordinarily employed; and for a good reason. For *sententia* emphasizes the thought contained in the form; while *periodus* emphasizes the form without regard to the thought. In the clause before us, a deliberation *de singulis periodis*, would have been mainly concerning grammatical and rhetorical points; while *de singulis sententiis* refers to a careful weighing of each sentence, with respect to the doctrine taught, and the thought conveyed.

Among Melanchthon's works, there are several brief treatises or tracts, which, after the example of the ancients, he entitled *sententiæ*. Just as one hundred and sixty of the wise sayings of Varro were collected, and published as the *Sententiæ Varronis*, and as mediæval writers entitled concise explanations of any subject "*sententiæ*," as Peter Lombardus was styled "*Magister sententiarum*," so also with Melanchthon's *Sententiæ Veterum Aliquot Scriptorum de Coena Domini* and *Sententiæ ex Sacris Scripturis collectæ quae docent præcipuum cultum Dei esse promovere Evangelium.* In the former, indeed, a *sententia* may cover a paragraph or more; in the latter, we have fifty-one short sentences in upwards of thirty-five *sententiæ*. Even with the use of *sententia* in this latter sense, which may include a number of sentences, we have something quite different from what is intended by the proposed substitute of "opinion, or subject, or point," as a translation. There is nothing indefinite or general here intended, as our reviewer desires to prove, but a clearly-defined, terse, compact, brief statement. Glassius speaks of such *sententiæ* (*Philologia Sacra*, p. 211), as "judgments, which, with wonderful brevity, contain within themselves the very greatest subjects." Speaking of *sententiæ* in this sense, Quintilian says (XII. 10, 48): · "They strike the mind, and frequently by one stroke impel it, and by their very brevity cleave the faster." This

would be sufficient to show the minuteness of the process described by *de singulis sententiis*, even if *sententia* were here as comprehensive as when used by Melanchthon in the titles above cited.

Nevertheless, the use of *sententia* for precisely what we understand by sentence, was frequent with Melanchthon. For example, in his *Syntaxis*[3] (1529), he says: In Syntaxi praestat exigere, ut non modo discant, quid cur cohaereat, sed numerent etiam ordine vocabula, quae ad perfectam *sententiam* efferendam requiruntur. Orditur *sententiam* nominativus, aut quod vice nominativi fungitur, hunc proxime sequitur verbum finitum. * * * Hunc ordinem verborum in interpretando utile est a pueris exigere, ut animadvertant quot voces *sententiam* absolvant. "The terms which are required for producing a perfect *sentence*." "The nominative, or what performs the office of the nominative, begins the *sentence*." "That they may notice how many words complete the *sentence*."

The context in which *de singulis sententiis* stands, will also afford light as to the precise meaning here. Melanchthon is writing concerning the preparation of a form, and says in a succeeding paragraph: "And since I know how great is the difficulty of this subject, I have always wished that godly and learned men should assemble, and that the *subjects* concerning the entire doctrine being calmly deliberated upon, they should hand down to posterity the same *sentences* and forms of speaking." Cumque sciam quanta sit hujus rei difficultas, semper optavi, ut pii et docti homines convenirent, et *rebus* placide deliberatis de universa doctrina ejusdem *sententias* et loquendi formas posteritati traderent. Here *sententias* is placed in antithesis to *rebus*, sentences to subjects. It is not that the same "opinions, subjects or points" be handed down, but the very same sentences expressing these opinions, subjects, points. Union not only in the same mind, but also in the same judgment; not only in the thought, but also in the expression of the thought; that a form might be prepared, which would remain fixed and unaltered, and thus be transmitted to posterity, in the very *sentences* and phrases then determined, is the end which Melanchthon thinks desirable. We are reminded of Luther's words in the Preface to the Smaller Catechism: "Choose, therefore, the form of words which best pleases you, and adhere to it perpetually." So also in

[3] C. R., XX. 373.

the paragraph in dispute, while Melanchthon is speaking of a different matter, yet the method proposed is undoubtedly the same.

We recur to the antithesis in the above passage between *res* the proper word for "subject," and *sententia*. Had Melanchthon intended to say "subject by subject," his words would have been "*de singulis rebus*;" or, if topic by topic, "*de singulis locis*." Point, the third word suggested as a substitute for sentence, is ambiguous. If used in the general sense of *caput rerum*, head, or prominent feature, or particular, it can have no place here. It would be no proof that Melanchthon had assumed nothing to himself, as he tries to show by this clause, if there had been only such a deliberation concerning the heads of the proposed confession, as would have left the language general and indefinite. If it be used in the sense of *apex literarum*, every jot and tittle, this is more specific than Melanchthon intended, or the critic means to intimate. If by this it be intended to make *sententia* equivalent to subject or principle, in the sense in which we speak of the nine points of the law, or the five points of Calvinism, this has been already shown to be impossible. If Melanchthon meant any one of these things, with his customary precision, he would have used the proper word for it, and not *sententia*, for which we can find no such meaning given by any authority. Such a rendering may be allowed in an extemporaneous translation, expressing in general terms the sense of the passage, but not in one which aims at exactness, and is made the basis for a theory concerning the solution of historical difficulties.

But it will be found further, that *de singulis sententiis* was not coined by Melanchthon, but was simply adopted by him from Cicero, who uses it in the very sense to which exception is taken. It is found in the Thirteenth Philippic x. 22. Cicero announces a letter which he had just received from Hirtius, and says: Dumque *de singulis sententiis* breviter disputo, velim, Patres conscripti, ut adhuc fecistis, me attente audiatis. "While I briefly examine it sentence by sentence, I wish you, conscript Fathers, to hear me attentively, as you thus far have done." He then reads the title: "Antony to Hirtius and Cæsar," and makes his comments; then the first sentence: "When the death of C. Trebonius was made known, I did not rejoice more than I grieved;" then follows another comment; then a third, a fourth, a fifth sentence, with comments interposed; then a sixth sentence, with comments between

each clause, and in like manner to the end of the letter. Hence Quicherat and Davelny, in their Latin-French dictionary (Paris, 1858), define this expression thus "*De singulis sententiis disputare*, Cicero: Commenter chaque phrase (d' une lettre)." Here the examination is made even more minute than sentence by sentence. It is not likely that the most distinguished commentator on the classics, of his period, by mere accident stumbled upon the same phrase as Cicero, to mean quite a different thing.

The *ordine* that precedes is also to be taken into the account; for while it expresses the manner in which the deliberations of the Princes proceeded, the *de singulis sententiis* marks the minuteness by which every sentence of the document was most thoroughly examined.

There surely can be no question raised as to the "*singulis*." As a distributive, it answers like all of its class, "to the question quoteno or quoteni æ-a? *how many at a time?* one at a time, two at a time, etc.; or the preposition *by* may be used, *by twos*, *by threes*, etc., or the word *each*, as *two each*, *three each*, etc." (Key's Latin Grammar, § 249; Zumpt, § 119; Madvig, § 75).

The phrase *de singulis sententiis*, literally rendered, is therefore: "concerning sentence by sentence" or "concerning the sentences one at a time" or "concerning each sentence taken separately."

Thus the words of Melanchthon have been understood, where even the critic must admit that there could have been no motive whatever for a forced rendering. Thus Francke in his Prolegomena to the Augsburg Confession, reaches the same conclusion. Omnes ordines cum consiliariis et theologis, utramque formulam tam curiose perlustrarunt ac poliverunt, ut de singulis deinceps sententiis disputaretur.

So, too, the New Market translation of the Symbolical Books, in the historical introduction, furnishes the rendering not indeed altogether satisfactory, yet correct with respect to the *sententia*: "Each sentence * * being discussed in order."

Here, therefore, we have detected no error in Dr. Krauth's translation, but find that the charge of want of strict accuracy can justly be laid at our own door for a translation in the *Quarterly Review* for July, 1877, p. 362, where, in rendering a note of Dr. Plitt, of Erlangen, in which this sentence occurs, misled, like the reviewer, by the frequent meaning of *sententia* as opinion, but

noticing that the uncertainty of "opinion" was not in place here, without consulting any other translation, or subjecting the clause to a very critical analysis, we translated *de singulis sententiis disputatum est*—"every doctrine was discussed." Such a translation is generically correct, but not specific enough for the present discussion, where every word becomes a matter of minute examination and controversy; and we are grateful for the occasion that has led to a review of the entire subject, and a detection of the error.

II. THE IMPERSONAL CONSTRUCTION.

We beg pardon for referring to a very elementary principle. At the very threshold of his course, the student who attempts the acquisition of another language, learns that there are two modes of translation. The intensely literal mode rigidly renders word for word, and every part of speech and form by its precise English equivalent, with little regard to the awkwardness of the sentences thus framed, or their failure to express the entire force and full spirit of the original. In the schools, we are confined to this mode, until the student has mastered the construction. But when this stage is once reached, we pass from the mechanical to the idiomatic method of translation. In reality, the latter is the only translation properly so called; as the former gives us the foreign tongue only in English words, but not with an accurate reproduction of the precise shades of thought, which is essential to a true rendering. Especially in the classical languages, ideas at first unnoticed, and altogether untransferable by the mechanical method, depend frequently upon the order of the words, and other means for conveying emphasis; and in order to be faithful in reproducing the full meaning of the author, resort must be had to another idiom. For example, in an approved work on Latin idioms, *Cæsarem interfecit amicus* is translated, "Cæsar was killed by his friend."[4] We almost hear the exceptions of critics of the school which the article in the *Review* represents; for we often meet them at a very early stage in the course. "What ignorance of the first principles of Latin," they say. "*Cæsarem* is accusative. *Interfecit* is active. *Amicus* is nominative. It does not require a very profound knowledge of Latin to know that." Of course not; neither does it require a very profound knowledge of Latin to attain a more thor-

[4] Abbot's Latin Prose through English Idiom, p. 111.

ough insight into the construction. For the reflecting student will note the emphatic position of *amicus*, and the consequent necessity to reconstruct the entire sentence, in order to assign the prominent idea its proper place.

So, too, clearness often requires the supplying of a word in a translation. All that can be demanded, is that the word supplied be clearly implied in the context, and that the translation thus rendered convey no idea foreign to the mind of the author.

Applying, then, this principle, we find that the impersonal construction is one for which frequently a precise equivalent in English cannot be given by an intensely literal rendering. The design of its employment in preference to a personal construction, is to throw the emphasis upon the idea of the verb instead of upon that of the subject of the state, thought or action described. "Hence," says Roby (Latin Grammar, vol. I., pp. 177–8), "whenever in English an unemphatic pronoun is sufficient to denote the subject without risk of mistake, the finite verb in Latin requires no addition for this purpose. This is so * * 4. in certain verbs in the 3d person singular, where the fact of the action, state or feeling, is the prominent point, and the doer is left indefinite. Such verbs are called impersonals."

Such is the construction in the clause *disputatum est ordine de singulis sententiis*. Melanchthon preferred it to *Confessio disputata est* or *Confessionem disputabant*, as either would have thrown the emphasis upon the *Confessio*, or a pronoun which might have stood for it, instead of on the idea conveyed by the verb. In English, however, the unemphatic pronoun "it" can be employed to express the subject, without the change of emphasis resulting from the similar construction in Latin; while such a translation as "there was a discussion and determination," is open to the charge of conveying an indefiniteness, which, because of the difference of idiom, is not contained in the Latin. "The idiomatic frequency of impersonal constructions in Latin," says Madvig (Grammar, Am. Ed., p. 100), "may be avoided in English in various ways, particularly by the use of the indefinite *they* and *one*." In accordance with this principle, "it" is employed for the same purpose in the clause before us. The ablative absolute in the first part of the sentence, renders the change of the passive voice to active, and the supplying of the nominative "they" as suggested by Madvig, less natural, although the meaning conveyed would be the same, whether the translation be

"they discussed and determined it," or, "it was discussed and determined."

"It was discussed and determined," is, therefore, entirely correct; not because *disputatum est*, a neuter form, has a pronoun referring to *Confessio*, a feminine noun, agreeing with it, but because the context clearly shows that the subject of the discussion and determination, was the Confession. Accepting the substitute of the *Review:* "There was discussion in order on each opinion or point," we ask: On each opinion or point of what? If of the Confession, as the reviewer cannot dispute, we ask whether this is not precisely the idea conveyed by the translation? Who that reads the entire paragraph can judge otherwise? No fault can be found with the translation, unless the reviewer can prove that the discussion was on some other subject, or about matters in general, or that the author wished to keep the subject of the discussion out of view. Apt as the exception on this point may be to mislead the unwary, yet it detracts greatly from the force of the arguments, on the points upon which the question in dispute really turns For it does not require a very close examination of the subject to see clearly that this exception is a mere quibble. No amount of philological research can prove that a general conversation on indefinite subjects is here meant. It was the Confession that was discussed and determined; nothing else.

III. MEANING OF DISPUTATUM EST.

Here there is a better ground for the exception taken. We frankly acknowledge that at first we also had some doubt concerning the legitimacy of the words: "and determined" that follow "discussed." Our doubt arose, not from the fact that three English are made to do service for one Latin word; as we have learned that the accuracy of a translation often renders such an expedient necessary. "I have endeavored," says Ernesti, in the Preface to his *Clavis Ciceroniana*, "to present distinct notions of words, and thus to lead tyros away from that childish method, too common in our schools, when they think that they understand an author, where they can translate the Latin by just as many German words." Thus for example the verb *opto* may ordinarily be rendered by "wish" or "desire," but the moment a critical point rests upon its meaning, and it becomes a subject of controversy, then such a translation must be made as will bring out its full force, as distinguished from

volo and *expeto*, *cupio*, *aveo* and *gestio;* and we have the proper rendering "to wish and leave the realization of one's wish to others," as given by Döderlein (Manual of Synonyms, Am. Edition, p. 221). The real point that troubled us, was as to whether the idea "determined upon" were included in the *disputatum est*, or whether the meaning were not already exhausted by the term "discussed." That it sometimes means scarcely more, can be established. But the result of a patient examination, has shown us: 1. That there are the very best authorities for this additional idea. 2. That the context shows that this idea is implied here.

Döderlein's Hand-Book of Latin Synonyms, translated by Arnold, gives us one of the meanings of *disputo:* "to weigh argument against argument, *and ascertain on which side the balance truth lies*" (Am Edition, p. 63). Here we have precisely "to discuss *and determine.*" The unabridged German work, by the same author, unrivaled as an authority in its department, contains the same definition: "*Grund gegen grund gestellt gleichsam abrechnet auf welcher Seite das Plus von Wahrheit bleibe*" (iv. 18).

White and Riddle's Latin-English Dictionary (Fifth Edition, 1876), is conceded to be thus far the most complete of Latin-English Lexicons. It is based upon Andrew's translation of Freund's Lateinische Wörterbuch, and embodies the labors of Freund in corrections and additions to Andrew, as well as extensive additions and revisions on the part of the two English editors. We quote from the unabridged work. Here we find the very first and proper meaning of *disputare*, to be "to cast up, calculate, reckon, estimate." This meaning is supported by the etymological references "*dis* (No. II. A., 3 b) and *puto* (No. II. a)." Turning to the references, we find: "*Puto—clear up, set in order, arrange, settle, adjust.*" "*Dis*, of computation *severally, one after another*, and so in pregnant force *up, dinumero disputo.*" Precisely in accordance with this, is the etymology of the English word dispute, given by Webster: "From prefix *dis* and *putare* to clean; tropically, *to clear up, to set in order*, to reckon, to think."

Even Andrew's Lexicon, to which every American student has access, shows that the prominent meanings of *puto* are "to clear up, set in order, arrange, settle, adjust, reckon, value, estimate, esteem, ponder, consider, reflect upon, decide, judge," and that "think over," "suppose, account, suspect, believe, think, imagine,"

are secondary, as is illustrated by the quotation from Aulus Gellius: "Verbum quoque ipsum *puto*, quod declarandæ sententiæ nostræ causa dicimus, non signat profecto aliud, quam id agere nos in re dubia obscuraque, ut decisis amputatisque falsis opinionibus, quod videatur esse verum et integrum et incorruptum, retineamus." "The very word *puto*, which we speak for the purpose of declaring our decision, designates in fact nothing else than that in a doubtful and obscure matter, we aim at this, viz.: that false opinions being cut off and pruned away, we may retain what seems to be true and sound and unadulterated." He might have continued the quotation: "Therefore in the treaty with Carthage silver was said to be *putum*, as though *exputatum*, and refined by melting (*excoctum*), and freed from all foreign material, and purified, and brightened by the removal from it of all refuse." Or the citation might have begun a sentence or two earlier: "*putare* the ancients have applied to the removal and extirpation of useless and unnecessary things from any matter, and the leaving of that which seems to be useful and without a fault. For thus it is said that trees and vines, and so also accounts, *putari*" are pruned, settled).

George's Latin-German Lexicon (1869), defines *disputare*: 1. Gänzlich im Reine bringen, abrechnen, sich berechnen. 2. Etwas oder über etwas abhandeln. 1. To bring entirely into the clear, to reckon, to settle. 2. To treat of something or concerning something.

Freund's Latin-German Lexicon (1844), the original of Leverett, Andrew, White and Riddle: "I. Ursprünglich in der Geschäftssprache: eine summe nach ihren einzelheiten überschlagen, abschätzen, abwägen, Plautus, Aulularia, 3: 55. II. Ausserhalb der Geschäftssprache: einen zweifelhaften Gegendstand nachdenkend, oder (gewöhnlich) redend, abwägen, erwägen, untersuchen, auseinandersetzen, abhandeln, über etwas handeln, u. dgl." I. Originally, in mercantile language: to compute, estimate, weigh a sum according to its items. II. Beyond mercantile language: By reflecting upon a doubtful subject, or commonly by speaking upon it, to weigh, ponder, investigate, elucidate, discuss, treat of anything.

Facciolati and Forcellini's Lexicon (1805), gives among other definitions, the following: Disputo a dis et puto, quasi hinc et inde puto, ex utraque parte dissero, sententiam profero, discepto,"

i. e., "From *dis* and *puto*, as though I reckon on this side and on that, treat of both sides, announce sentence, decide" (juridical meaning of *discepto*). "Wherefore," they continue, "just as Plautus, Cas. 3: 2, 25, has said, *putare rationem* (to settle an account), so also *disputata ratio* (the account was settled) is found in the same writer, Aul. 3: 5, 55, and *disputatio* is used for *computatio* in the measure of fields by Columella, Cap. 1, Lib. 5."

Stephan's Thesaurus (1735) follows the definition of Varro, viz.: *purum facere*, to make pure, and adds: "But *disputo* is tropically *disceptare et disserere*, Mart. 9: 79."

So too the Lexicon Magnum Juris of Kahl (1689): "For *disputare* is properly to make pure. But tropically, it is to deliberate upon any subject, the reasons on both sides being collected, so that the truth may at length be learned."

Holyoake's Dictionary (1677) uses almost the same words: "*Disputare* is properly to make pure by clearing away anything superfluous. But, metaphorically, it is to deliberate on any subject, the reasons on both sides being collected, so that the truth may at length be learned," or, as it could be translated with equal propriety, "so that the truth is at length learned." Disputare proprie est putum facere, superfluum quid putando: Metaphorice autem est aliquam rem inde collectis rationibus agitare ut veritas tandem cognoscatur.

With this agrees the Dictionarium Decem Linguarum of Ambrosius Calepinus (1594), in which the definition occurs. "*Disputare* likewise signifies to deliberate upon any subject, so that the truth may at length be learned," or "is at length learned." Disputare item significat rem aliquam agitare, ita ut verum tandem cognoscatur.

"Qui disputat," says St. Augustine, (Contra Cresconium Donatistam, cxv.) "verum discernit a falso. * * Qui verus disputator est, id est, veritatis a falsitate discretor." "He who disputes separates the true from the false. * * He who is a true disputer, *i. e.*, one who separates truth from falsehood." Cf. the entire paragraph.

That the English word *discuss* does not exhaust the meaning of *disputare* is therefore manifest. "Discussion," say several authorities on English synonyms (Crabb, Webster), "often serves more for amusement, than for any solid purpose." "It may be no more than a collation of what is said and argued upon that point,

without giving in an adhesion to any conclusion or view whatever" (Smith's English Synonyms Discriminated).

We have found, however, as additional meanings of *disputare*, "*to weigh argument against argument, and ascertain on which side the balance truth lies*," "to weigh, cast up, calculate;" "*to bring entirely into the clear*," "*to settle*;" to treat of both sides, *announce sentence, decide*," to deliberate on any subject, "*so that the truth may at length be learned.*" This surely is sufficient to show that "discussed *and determined*" do not exceed the limits allowed in a definition of *disputare.*

It remains to ascertain the meaning in the particular passage before us, as to whether the context implies that the Confession was determined upon sentence by sentence. This is made clear by a consideration of the purpose of the clause. It is introduced in order to show that responsibility for the Confession rested not with Melanchthon alone, or even chiefly with him, but also with Luther and "the Princes, other officials and preachers." "I assumed nothing to myself," Melanchthon says; for "in the presence of the Princes," etc., *disputatum est.* Before the fact expressed by *disputatum est,* the form prepared was simply in the same category as a bill drawn up for a legislative body, before any action upon it has been taken. No condition whatever can transfer responsibility for the bill from the author to the body of legislators, until they have by direct action approved it. A mere discussion, however minute and extended, still leaves the bill upon its author's hands. If Melanchthon meant by *disputatum est* nothing more than pure discussion, this sentence is altogether useless, as an explanation of what precedes. As, however, the word *disputare* has often the clearly established meaning of "*discuss and determine*," all the difficulty is at once removed by its adoption.

This is confirmed by the Preface to the German edition of the *Corpus Doctrinæ*, which, without being identical with the preface to the Latin edition, nevertheless presents many of the same facts and phrases. "Previously also, before it had been read before His Imperial Majesty, it was submitted to the Elector and Princes and ambassadors, who have signed it, who with their counselors and preachers who were there, diligently weighed (fleissig bewogen haben) all the articles."

This is in perfect harmony with the *de singulis sententiis disputo* of the Thirteenth Philippic, which we have above seen that Melanch-

thon undoubtedly had in mind. Cicero uses *disputo*, not *dissero*. For "der *disserens* will seine subjective Ansicht aussprechen, der *disputans* will ein Resultat von objectiver Gültigkiet gewinnen" (Döderlein iv. 18). His aim is not the expression of a subjective view, but the attainment of a result of objective validity. He is confident that the doubt and hesitation of all inclined to waver concerning Antony will be removed, after he has treated of each sentence, and led them to a determination of its real meaning. "Quodsi quis adhuc dubitare potuit, quin nulla societas huic ordini populoque Romano cum illa importunissima bellua possit esse; desinet profecto dubitare his cognitis litteris, quas mihi missas ab Hirtio consule modo accepi. Eas dum recito, dumque de singulis sententiis breviter disputo, velim, Patres conscripti, ut adhuc fecistis, me attente audiatis."

While, therefore, the determination of the form undoubtedly belongs to the idea of the original, yet the emphasis is still upon the minuteness and system of the process applied to the entire Confession. This enters, as is shown by the definitions cited, into the very meaning of *disputo*, in a manner that cannot be expressed in English without expanding the sentence even more than as rendered. Even were there no clause *de singulis sententiis*, we would have in *disputo* not a mere vague, rambling treatment of the chief points involved, but a minute analysis of the entire document, taking into the account, one after another, all its items, together with the reasons that could be cited on both sides, in order to attain a clear and fixed form. This is essential to the idea of method which the verb *disputo* is conceded to mean. Döderlein calls attention to the fact that the German derivative *disputiren* may mislead the German student; so also with the English word dispute. "*Disputare*," says Dumesnil (Latin Synonyms, Eng. Trans., p. 206) is "to dispute as philosophers do," *i. e.*, systematically, methodically. "*Disserere*," says Döderlein, "denotes a freer; *disputare* a more methodical treatment of the subject" (iv. 19).

IV. THE ALLEGED INTERPOLATIONS.

The charge is made of "putting into the translation of Melanchthon's statement twice as much as it really contains." To support this charge, the Proceedings of the Diet, p. 240, are quoted. Even though the reviewer may not have so intended, the impression is made, that he is referring to the translation. It requires but a reference to the page mentioned to discover that the sentence ob-

jected to, is not proposed as a translation, but simply as one of the points in the summary of the argument. On p. 239, Melanchthon's words are translated, and enclosed in quotation marks. On p. 240, the sentence upon which the charge is based, is without quotation marks, thus indicating that they belong to the author of the note, and not to Melanchthon. Yet that no improper use has been made of Melanchthon's words can be shown as follows :

ORIGINAL.

Latin Preface, 1560.

Præsentibus Principibus et aliis gubernatoribus et concionatoribus disputatum est ordine de singulis sententiis. Missa est deinde et Luthero tota forma confessionis.

German Preface, 1559.

Endlich aber ist diese Confessio, wie es Gott gefüget und geben hat, durch mich also zusammen gezogen, welche ihm der ehrwirdig Herr Doctor Martinus Luther hat gefallen lassen. Sie ist auch zuvor, ehe sie vor Keys. Majest. offentlich gelesen ist, den Chur und Fürsten und Botschaften welche sich unterschrieben haben, fürgetragen, die neben ihren Räthen und Predicanten, welche da gewesen sind, alle Artikel fleissig bewogen haben.

Translation.

For in the presence of the Princes and other officials and of the preachers, it was discussed and determined upon in regular course, sentence by sentence. The complete form of the Confession was subsequently sent to Luther.

Summary.

It was sent after the discussion and determination of it, in regular order article by article as it came, and sentence by sentence, before and by Princes, officials and theologians.

We ask here, In what has Melanchthon been misrepresented? The only idea not clearly brought out in the Latin, is "article by article," and this is found in the German. *Disputo*, too, always carries with it the idea of a systematic treatment of a subject, and when modified still further by *ordine* contains fully the idea of "discussion and determination in regular order as it came."

V. THE MEANING OF "TOTA FORMA."

Tota is not translated "finished" or "completed," as asserted, but "complete," as a reference to the translation will show. Nevertheless, that the complete or entire form means the completed or finished form, is manifest from the statement of Melanchthon concerning the process by which the Confession was composed. *Tota* is indeed most frequently applied to what is originally a whole, and then cannot mean complete, or imply completed or finished. But when used, concerning that which the context shows is gradually formed, and applied after the process by which a result produced has ended, it is as evident as a mathematical axiom that *totus*, "the whole," "all the," means complete, and refers to what has been finished, and is no longer in an inchoate condition. A youth may indeed say *Tota mea vita*, my whole life, has been a failure, and yet the *tota vita* may represent less than a fourth of his earthly life when finished in death; but just as he advances, does the *tota* advance with him, so that at every moment it comprehends the entire course over which he has passed, until his career end, when *tota* and *absoluta* become co-ordinate. Any principle of interpretation that regards *tota*, when used after a document has assumed a final form, as applicable to it, at a stage in its preparation when it was confessedly in a form quite different, either casts the imputation of dishonesty, or inaccuracy, or ignorance upon the author of the original, or employs a mode of translation, that can derive from a word any meaning whatever that may be desired. A most convenient method, assuredly, but one which needs neither grammars, lexicons, nor the study of authorities! The more we consider the objection thus made concerning the *tota*, the more are we astonished that it should ever have been raised by a scholar of the acknowledged intelligence of the critic. We can explain the error only by supposing that *tota forma*, with the emphasis on *forma*, was marked as the vulnerable point, and then by some inexplicable confusion the point of attack was transferred to the *tota*.

We grant, indeed, that in a looser sense, the word *tota* might be used for what is not absolutely complete or entire, just as many other terms are frequently used in a relative sense. Thus, in English, a man might speak of the loss of his whole fortune, even when a few dollars were still left him from the ruin. A very inconsiderable amount may sometimes be regarded as though it were nothing. The *tota* here clearly means that there was nothing whatever of importance

in the *forma* as sent to Luther, which did not exist in the form then extant, or, as the note in the Proceedings of the Diet says: "The Confession, when Luther's judgment was given, was in such a state of substantial completeness, as to make it *morally identical* with the one delivered." However trifling and insignificant a subsequent change might have seemed to Melanchthon, yet if it had been afterwards a matter of controversy, or one upon which Luther had expressed dissent, it would have been a violation of truth to have used the word *tota*, in referring to the sending of the Confession to Luther, subsequent to the deliberations of the Princes and theologians *de singulis sententiis*. If a single article of the Confession had been wanting, the *tota* could scarcely be used, even by the widest stretch of a looser signification of the word.

It is not difficult to determine the force of its English derivative *total*, which has preserved the meaning of its primitive. All know what a *total* eclipse, *total* darkness, *total* loss of sight, *total* suspension of specie payments, mean. It is not simply that which comprises the greater number of parts, but all the parts with all that these parts contain. It is defined as *complete* by almost all our English lexicographers—not only Webster and Worcester, but also the British authorities, Johnson, Scott's-Bailey, Sheridan, Kenrick, Jones, Barclay, Perry, Walker, Jameson, Wright, Richardson, Broag and Latham. So that "the entirety or totality of the document" referred to by the reviewer is here clearly the same with its completeness.

That *totus*, when applied after the completion of an object to what has been in process of formation, clearly means "finished in opposition to unfinished," is shown by a passage in one of Cicero's Letters to his brother Quintus (Lib. iii. c. 1): Villa mihi valde placuit, propterea quod summam dignitatem pavimentata porticus habebat; quod mihi nunc denique apparuit, posteaquam et ipsa *tota* patet, et columnæ politæ sunt. That is, he says that the villa has pleased him greatly, because the paved portico had the highest beauty, "which now has at length appeared to me, since it lies open *as a whole*, and the columns have been polished." Here the use of *tota* for complete is evident. He is captivated by the beauty of the portico, since it has been finished, and he views it as a whole.

Ramshorn's Latin Synonyms, translated by Dr. Francis Lieber, and incidentally referred to in the Book Notices of the April num-

ber of the *Review* as a high authority, defines *totus* (as distinguished from *omnis*, *cunctus* and *universus*) as complete. The rarity of the meaning of complete for *totus* in the lexicons, arises from the fact that it was usually applied, as Döderlein remarks in his Synonyms (Unabridged Work, Vol. IV. 357; cf. also Manual, American Edition), to what is originally a whole, but which is liable to fall into pieces by accident, whereas *omnis*, *universus* and *cunctus* denote original individualities which form a whole by their association." It will be noticed that, in this sense, *tota* could not have been used by Cicero, in the letter above cited, or by Melanchthon, in the passage under consideration, as the Confession is not regarded as an original whole, but as having been developed into a complete form by a process of growth, whose stages are distinctly marked. The same remark applies also to Luther's use of the same word, concerning the Confession, in his letter of July 3, where there can be no doubt as to the meaning of *Relegi heri tuam apologiam diligenter totam*, as referring to the complete Confession.

But while all objections to the translation of "*tota forma*," as the complete form, utterly fail, we need not insist on the precise word objected to. If we simply translate *tota forma* as "the whole form," or "all the form," or as Freund defines *totus*, *ganz und gar*, *vollig*, or as Cooper's Thesaurus, "every whit of," the way is entirely closed against any hypothesis of material changes or additions after the Confession is said to have reached this stage of preparation. If *tota forma* designate the Confession, as it existed on May 11th, or even May 22d, then all the testimony we have from cotemporary documents, as to the changes made in the interval before the delivery must be explained away, an alternative that is impossible.

The reviewer explains the *tota* as used to designate the two divisions of the Confession, "the doctrinal articles" and the "controverted articles," and understands *Missa est deinde et Luthero*, as: The two sections of the Confession in their general structure were afterwards sent to Luther. Thus *tota*, "comprising *all* the parts," "*ganz und gar*," "every whit of," gradually wanes under the pen of our critic, until it loses all its force. The fact is ignored, that what is a part of a part, must also be a part of the whole. A hand cannot be strictly called *tota manus*, if the smallest joint of the smallest finger be wanting, or the body a *totum corpus*, if one of the hands be thus mutilated. So, too, in Zoölogy, a peculiarity

dare not be predicated of a natural order as *tota*, if a single known species of a single genus fail to exhibit it; a slip of this kind would be published and condemned by scientists as soon as detected. Of course, in regard to the statement of occurrences, somewhat more latitude in the use of terms is allowed than in scientific terminology; but that this is much more restricted than what the reviewer desires, is clear.

It is conceded that *totus* is the Latin equivalent for ὅλος. As such it is frequently used in the Vulgate. We recall the fact that in one of the chief passages, upon which rests the doctrine of the universality of the atonement, 1 John ii. 2, precisely the same mode of explaining away the force of the *totus* has been resorted to by the advocates of a limited atonement. "He is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου *pro totius mundi*." Not all the world, they say, but for believers scattered among all nations, in all parts of the world, or for believer who will be born in all ages of the world. Surely, with the reviewer's idea of *tota*, as applicable only to the two general divisions of the Confession, without necessarily implying any completeness within these sections, there can be no difficulty in accepting the *totius mundi* as indicating simply the two great sections of humanity, Jews and Gentiles, with respect to those within them who will be saved. The reviewer, it is likely, repudiates such an evasive meaning of the ὅλος, *totus*, in the passage cited; but to be consistent he must do the same also here.

So, too, reference might be made to the same force of *totus* in our Saviour's summary of the law: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God—ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ, etc.; *ex toto corde tuo, et in tota anima tua, et in tota mente tua*" (Matth. xxii. 37); by which there is demanded such complete, full, entire, thorough obedience, that "whosoever shall keep the whole law," not simply the main principles of the two tables, but the TOTAM LEGEM—ὅλον τὸν νόμον, "and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all" (James ii. 10). The importance of the Vulgate in investigating the meaning of words employed by the Reformers and early theologians of our Church must not be ignored.

We have not overlooked some passages in which *totus* is used in a looser sense, such as Matth. iv. 23: "Jesus went about all Galilee" (*totam Galilaam*), which does not indeed mean that he traversed every atom, or square inch, or foot, or mile of its territory, but only

so much that no important place was omitted. The application of *tota*, even in this sense, would be fatal to the reviewer's theory, as the aim of his argument is to show that although the *tota forma*, the whole form, had been sent to Luther, yet there were important portions of the Confession withheld until after the delivery.

It has already been intimated that, had the reviewer felt so disposed, he might have assailed the *forma* with perhaps a better show of success than the *tota*. It is used for "contour, figure, shape, pattern, frame-work," "*delineatio futuri ædificii*," "*dispositio partium exterior*," and thus might perhaps be applied to the outline of a document, and, from this, the inference might be drawn that only a scheme of the whole had been sent to Luther. But the fact that the Confession had passed beyond this stage before Melanchthon began his work upon it, and especially that after the elaboration of what was transmitted to Luther on May 11th, the term outline could no longer be applied to *forma* in this connection, prevented the reviewer from building his argument upon this basis. If these considerations were still insufficient to show that *forma* could not be thus used, the third paragraph after the statement under discussion, already quoted, is decisive. "Since I know how great is the difficulty of this subject, I have always wished that godly and learned men should assemble, and the subjects, concerning the entire doctrine, being calmly deliberated upon, that they should hand down to posterity the same sentences and *forms* of speaking." So, too, Luther, in the Preface to the Small Catechism: *Ut perpetuo eadem utantur forma;* and in the following sentence: *Una atque eadem forma saepius proposita ac repetita.* "That they perpetually use the same form." "One and the same form being very frequently presented and repeated;" which means, as the context shows, a set form of words, the very same words, "*ut ne una quidem syllaba immutetur.*"

The definition *formulary*, for which the diminutive *formula* is more frequently used, as in *Formula Concordiæ*, is that which clearly belongs to *forma* as here found.

This is clearly shown by the following memoranda, made by Dr. Krauth:

MEMORANDA ON FORMA.

1530, May 11. Elector's letter to Luther: "Melanchthon in eine Form gezogen hat." Form *contrasted* with Verzeichniss,

sketch, three lines above. Corp. Ref., 687. Chytraeus: Lat: in formam redigisse (translates Verzeichniss by "scripto brevi"). French: en bonne forme.

1540. Melanchthon's Formula Testamenti.[5] Constat Augustinianam formam satis explicitam non esse." Forma–Confessio.

1569, March 25. The Electoral Theologians translate Melanchthon's words "tota forma Confessionis": "So hat man die ganze Confession, wie sie gestalt worden, Luthero uberschickt."[6]

1571. The theologians of Leipzig and Wittenberg, give as equivalent to "tota forma Confessionis," "dieselbe Schrifft der Confession."[7]

1584. In the official defence of the Formula Concordiæ, by Kirchner, Selneccer and Chemnitz, "tota forma Confessionis" is translated, "die gantze Confession."[8]

1646. Calovius distinguishes between matter and form in the Confession—the matter of which it is made, the matter about which it treats. The form is either internal, the general sense and meaning, or external, "quam vocamus dispositionem totius Confessionis et tractandi modum."[9]

1703. Piping says the Elector gave Luther's XVII Articles to Melanchthon, "das er sie übersehen und in eine bequeme form bringen solte."[10]

1730. Pfaff. "The Elector enjoined on Melanchthon that he should revise the XVII Articles, et ampliorem in formam redigat."[11]

"I understand the meaning to be this: The matter in its elaborated shape, the formulated expression: tota forma Confessionis, is equivalent to the Confession in its finished shape—the forma as over against unelaborated material—the tota as against incompleteness of shape, either for defect of parts, or of finish in the parts."

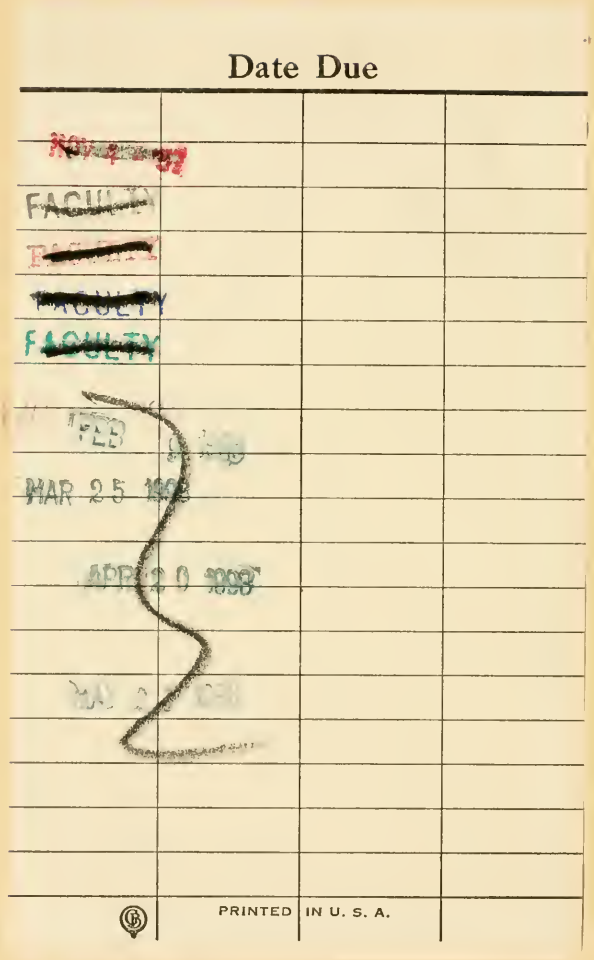
See Index to Müller's Ed. of Symb. Books, under Form.

It would be just as difficult to find a vulnerable point in the translation of *deinde* by "subsequently," or of *postea* by "after this," as in that of "*tota forma*" by "*the complete form.*" This, although important to his purpose, the reviewer has wisely not attempted.

[5] Seckendorf, H. L., 1540, 270.
[6] Acta und Handlung, 1570, 339b.
[7] Bericht, 1571, 12b.
[8] Gründliche Historia, 110.
[9] Crt. Sacra., 42. Exegema Aug. Conf., III., § 7, 8.
[10] Enleitung, 59, XII.
[11] Introd. Histor. III. § 2.

We are forced, therefore, to the conclusion that the entire effort has failed to demonstrate a single error in the points of Latinity involved in the discussion.

We are also persuaded that, with this clear record of Melanchthon before us and the translation and interpretation proposed in the *Conservative Reformation*, prevailing over all objections, as it must to all who have sufficient resources for testing the points involved, and are willing to give it earnest and unprejudiced attention, but one result can be reached as to the relation of Luther to the Augsburg Confession, during the period succeeding May 11. It is useless for us to add anything on this subject to the complete vindication of his position which Dr. Krauth has given in this volume. The direct statement in Melanchthon's letter of May 22d, as to the incompleteness as yet of the Confession, the declaration of the *Corpus Doctrinæ*, above examined, as to the fact that Luther had seen and approved the *tota forma* before its delivery, combined with the extensive and decisive reports of the Nürnburg ambassadors as to the transactions in the interim, are matters that cannot be explained away, and that lead inevitably to the conviction that all that has been claimed in this connection, in the *Conservative Reformation*, and re-affirmed by its author in the Proceedings of the Diet, is a correct representation of historical facts. In this conviction we have been confirmed by the re-examination of the documents, which the article in the *Review* has compelled us to make.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